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ABSTRACT

A study investigated the writing of incipient bilinguals (students who were in the initial process of acquiring a second language). A total of four Latino children were chosen for final, in-depth study over a 2 year-period at three middle schools in the San Francisco Bay Area in California. Data included initial interviews and observations, assessments of English language proficiency, classroom and school observations, written products produced inside and outside of school, and interviews with students and school personnel. Results indicated that: (1) a strong relationship existed between the development of other areas of language proficiency and the development of written language abilities; (2) instruction and teacher expectations were directly related to the opportunities that students had to develop their written language abilities; and (3) in 2 years even students who started at zero English reached the point where they could carry out speech acts in writing; and (4) growth took place slowly and in small steps. (Numerous student writing samples are included; assessment questionnaires and procedures used for assessing English language proficiency are attached.) (RS)

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FINAL REPORT

THE WRITING OF NON-ENGLISH BACKGROUND STUDENTS

Introduction
and
Part 1: The Study of the Latino-Background Students

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University of California at Berkeley

December, 1993

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Project Directors: Guadalupe Valdés and Sau-ling Wong

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THE WRITING OF NON-ENGLISH-BACKGROUND STUDENTS

Final Report

Project Directors: Guadalupe Valdés and Sau-ling Wong

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROJECT

In countries all over the world, children who do not speak the language in which schooling is conducted face grave difficulties in obtaining an education. In the United States, in spite of the fact that there is a commitment to educating all children, newly arrived immigrants from non-English-speaking countries encounter serious problems within the educational system. In the words of LaFontaine (1987):

> Limited English proficient children have a formidable task facing them as they enter school. If they are to succeed in school, they must overcome the obstacles caused by poverty and assignment to low-achieving schools, learn to deal successfully with an institution and individuals from a culture other than their own, master all the subjects taught in the regular school curriculum, and become completely proficient in a second language-English.

Because of the difficulties faced by these children, educational policy which is currently in force at the federal level and in selected states has led to the development of a number of school programs aimed at providing support for non-English-background students including such options as English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) programs, sheltered English programs, and transitional bilingual education programs. Unfortunately, given the increasing numbers of non-English speaking students, it is estimated (LaFontaine, 1987; Davis & McDaid, 1992; Minicucci & Olsen, 1992; Chamot, 1992; Rumbaut, 1990; Lucas, 1992; and Portes & Gran, 1991) that two-thirds of limited-English-speaking children are not receiving the language assistance they need in order to succeed in their academic and intellectual development.

The lack of support services is especially evident at the secondary level. Students who arrive in the United States find that, even though special ESL classes have been created for them, it is not possible for them to enroll in other academic courses (e.g. science, math, history) because language support services are not available for these courses (Minnicuci & Olsen, 1992). Recent work carried out by Harklau (1992), for example, determined that, regardless of their previous academic level in subject-matter areas, non-English-background students are permitted/ encouraged to enroll only in the ESL track until their English has developed sufficiently for them to participate in classes with fluent English speaking peers which are taught by monolingual English-speaking instructors. In spite of a recent initiative to provide sheltered English sections of history, science, and the like in states such as California, concerned individuals (Roos, 1990) point out that there is little difference between these sheltered sections and regular English classes.

In practice, the result of this is that talented students are often lost to the world of education. Whatever interest and love they might have had for subjects they had studied before they arrived here must be put on an indefinite hold. The possibility of continuing to grow intellectually must be deferred until such time as they are considered to be able to "handle" English.

It is very easy to place blame. The truth is, however, that any assignment of blame must take into consideration the fact that there is little consensus on how much English is enough English to allow such students to participate meaningfully in English-language medium courses. Common sense would suggest that an ability to follow English explanations and to understand English language texts might be sufficient to allow students to enroll in such courses. And indeed experience with foreign students in American universities—before the development of formalized ESL programs—would suggest that it is possible for students to profit from instruction in English, that is, to learn through English even when their productive skills (speaking and writing) have not developed fully.

The dilemma for American educators, however, involves not just determining whether or not students can learn from instruction given in English. In order to make placement decisions, they must also be concerned about teacher expectations, about classroom traditions, and more recently, about new standards. For example, if students are graded on class participation, if students are expected to write essays about their readings, and if the are expected to "sound" near-native while doing so, their access to subject-matter classes will be blocked, no matter how much they personally might be capable of profiting from the instruction and how able they might be to demonstrate knowledge of the subject without the use of extended discourse.

The Emphasis on Writing and Its Impact on Non-English-Background Students

While viewed by many as a positive step forward, the current national focus on writing and on the development of writing skills has led to what may be an untenable situation for those students in American schools whose first language is not English. What has happened is that as approaches to the teaching of writing have changed, and as steps have been taken to ensure the fact that writing is valued and carried out even in the earliest grades, both educators and researchers have failed to take into account how these new practices will affect the education of non-English-background students. It is assumed that once non-English-background students acquire a certain level of English (as yet undefined), they will profit from the same set of instructional approaches that have been found to succeed with native English-speaking students. When students are allowed to exit from the ESL support track and permitted to enroll in mainstream classes, they are expected to write, to mirror the development of native-speaking students, and to quickly show signs of becoming members of the classroom discourse community.

Conversely, it is also assumed and accepted, that when non-English background students cannot write at this expected level, this must mean that they are not ready for "mainstream" classes and should instead be retained in special subject matter or English-language classes designed exclusively for such students. Many "mainstream" teachers argue that they have not been trained to deal with developing English-

language systems and that they should not be expected to grade students differently simply because they are still learning the language. Some teachers firmly believe that if students cannot talk or write about what they are learning, they must not be learning at all.

In practice, these assumptions are problematic. Particularly at the secondary level, the expectation that writing across the curriculum is a valuable means of further developing writing abilities and the belief that writing itself will contribute to the learning process has resulted in its occupying a very central place in today's schools. Positive as this may be for native speakers, there is no evidence to suggest that students who are "new " to English will benefit similarly from this new emphasis. There is no research which supports the belief that after reaching a specific level of acquisition of a second or foreign language, students will be capable of using writing to effectively display what they have learned or, more importantly, to use it as an aid to learning itself.

Specifically, what is not known is how writing ability in a second language develops, when it develops, what relationship this ability has to other evidence of language proficiency, and what instructional strategies should be used in order to bring this development about . It is indeed possible that writing abilities do develop quickly in a second language. It is perhaps not unfair to give a low grade to an Asian student in an honors English class who appears to thoroughly understand a work of literature, but whose term paper is not at the same level of the native speakers in the class. If indeed native-like writing abilities are possible after two or three years of English-language experience, the student is not working to capacity. On the other hand, if such levels are not generally attainable, should this student be "sent back" to the intellectually unstimulating drill and practice sessions in which there is little content? When should she be allowed to enroll in regular classes? What should the teacher reasonably expect from her performance? How should the teacher assess her learning?

Purpose of the Completed Research

The purpose of the research with which this report is concerned was to address the above issues by describing the acquisition of writing abilities in English at the secondary level by non-English-background students. Very specifically, this project investigated the writing of incipient bilinguals (individuals who were in the initial process of acquiring a second language) by focusing on the following questions:

- How does writing ability grow and develop in students who are in the process of acquiring English?
- What is the relationship between other areas of language proficiency development (e.g., oral language development) and written language development?
- What is the nature of the challenges that are experienced by these students in learning to write in English?
- How do these challenges change across time?
- What are the commonalities across students?
- What are the dimensions of variation?

- What expectations do teachers have for these students and are these expectations appropriate?
- How do instructional programs reflect teacher expectations?
- What level(s) of writing skill development can be expected after a two-year period in the different types of instructional contexts observed?

The Study

The study to be described here was designed to fill a gap in the existing literature on the writing of non-English-background students and at the same time to contribute directly to describing the levels that can generally be attained after two years by newly arrived immigrant students who enroll in secondary school programs. It was designed to take into account the research conducted within the four different subfields of second/foreign language research and to address questions of interest to the language -teaching profession in its broadest sense while building directly on the research conducted within the field of writing.

The study focused on a total of eight newly-arrived immigrant middle school students who enrolled in English-medium schools for the first time. It followed these students over a two year period and sought to describe the stages of growth and development of their English language proficiency within the academic context. Specifically, the study focused on the growth of these students' English language and writing abilities in fine detail.

The study was carried out in a total of four different schools by two principal investigators. Guadalupe Valdés, who is of Mexican background and Spanish-speaking, worked with four students of Latino origin. Sau-ling Wong, who is of Chinese background and Chinese speaking, worked with four students of Chinese origin. The study was conducted in a total of four middle-schools located in the greater Bay Area. Due to transfers that occurred during the second year, the Latino students were studied in a total of three schools. The Chinese students, on the other hand, were studied at a single school.

The two segments of the project were designed to function in parallel allowing each researcher flexibility to investigate different aspects of the questions guiding the project as they presented themselves in the different contexts.

Organization of this Report

The organization of this report follows the organization of the research project itself and is divided into two principal parts. Part 1 presents the results of the research carried out on the Latino-origin children, and Part 2 presents the results of the research carried with the Chinese-background students.

Part 1
The Study of the Latino-Background Students

The study of the Latino students was carried out in a community in the greater Bay Area that is rapidly changing. Garden School,[1] the site selected for the study, is a middle school typical of an area that is undergoing a very significant population shift. Within the last five years, the immigrant population—made up primarily of Mexican and other Latino-background individuals—has increased dramatically. Schools, like Garden School, which until recently primarily served a middle and upper-middle-class white community, are suddenly faced with meeting the needs of a population within the school that is about 40% Latino and largely limited or non-English-speaking.

The particular community where Garden School is located is divided into two very different areas. The part of town in which the school is located is made up of pretty, tree-lined streets and well-cared for parks. Houses are surrounded by large yards and neat lawns. There is evidence everywhere of comfort and affluence.

The area where most of the new immigrant families have settled, on the other hand, is quite different. Located at some distance from the school, it is made up of blocks and blocks of two-story apartment complexes that were built as luxury rentals 20 or 30 years ago. Now the buildings are run down, and the swimming pools are not in use. Several families often occupy a single two bedroom apartment, and dozens of young children play in the dirt and mud that surrounds the buildings.

Garden School itself is a pleasant place. The buildings, while not new, have been recently painted. The grounds are clean, and the playing fields surrounding the school are well maintained. The classrooms are located in four separate one-story buildings. Each classroom has both a front and a back door, each opening to the patio area between each building. The main office, the attendance office, the multi-purpose room, and the library are also located in separate but closely adjacent buildings.

Between classes students sit and talk in the patios or in the outside lunch area. Students enrolled in mainstream classes normally congregate together. This group includes children of the original residents of the area—who are white, well-dressed, and very much engaged in extra-curricular activities—as well as students from Asia and India and even Latin America who are middle- class and who have been here for many years. This latter group of students is made up of fluent English speakers who seldom associate with the students who do not speak English.

Newly-arrived immigrant students also keep mainly to themselves. Outside the classroom they speak in Spanish to one another—sometimes loudly, sometimes in a whisper—and in certain ways mirror the "American" behavior of their mainstream peers. Their dress, their demeanor, and their comportment however, is not quite American. The girls either wear a little too much make up and too-tight clothes or they dress very much like little children. The older boys strut about ogling the girls making the kinds of remarks they might have made on the streets of their towns in Mexico. The younger boys appear to be shy and quiet and generally look down respectfully when

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[1] Names of schools, school personnel, and students have been changed to protect the identity of the persons actually involved in this study.

addressed by an adult. The most newly arrived youngsters look uncomfortable. To outsiders they seem shy and insecure.

As is also the case at other schools in which population shifts have rapidly changed the composition of the student body, there are tensions at Garden School. The increasing number of non-English or limited English speaking children have made demands on the staff and on the curriculum that had not been anticipated. Because of the increased enrollment of non-English speaking children within the last three years, for example, the single ESL teacher (who also used to teach special education students) now has a colleague. She no longer has time for special ed. Together the two ESL teachers serve every child in the school who is not yet fully fluent in English. Their classes generally enroll 35 to 40 students.

Overall, the administration has worked hard to try to provide a program in which NEP (non-English-proficient) and LEP (limited-English-proficient) children can have access to the curriculum. They have designed a NEP and LEP core in which these students receive instruction in both ESL (English as a Second Language) and social studies, and they have made an effort to provide other "real" subject matter courses for these students. While many of the teachers who have never worked with ESL students still do not want to work with such children, it t is noteworthy that a number of subject matter teachers in science, math, and computers offer "sheltered" content classes[2] at different levels. Science and math and computers can then be taken by NEP students who can understand very little English. As might be imagined, the challenges faced by these content teachers are many.

Garden school is a school in transition. It is a mainstream community's sole public middle-school, a school where a few short years ago children of the neighborhood felt comfortable and safe. Because of the population shift, this is changing. According to the former superintendent (GV—Interview, March 24, 1992), the school is at the beginning of intensive "white flight." More and more middle-class parents are enrolling their children in private schools. They are afraid of the dropping standards, of the problems that might accompany non-English-background students, of gangs, of violence, and of inter-ethnic romance.

In a very significant way, Garden School is representative of schools all over the country that are changing as a result of the dramatic increase of "diverse" populations in many communities. Its almost all-white faculty has little experience with diversity. According to one teacher who works closely with the Latino community, most teachers at Garden can predict few of the problems their "new" students will encounter. Most know little about poverty. They have little notion of why working parents might not be able to make mid-day appointments with their children's teachers. They suspect disinterest, apathy, and even antagonism and are baffled and troubled by the failure of these parents to "care" about their children.

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[2] Sheltered content courses are classes in which teachers—who may or may not speak the non-English language(s) spoken by their students—present subject matter instruction using special strategies. They modify their use of English and they provide many illustrations of the concepts they are presenting. Research conducted in California on such classes (Minicucci & Olsen, 1992) has found that in comparison to mainstream classes, sheltered classes provide very sparse coverage of the subject area content.

The "new" students, on the other hand, do not quite yet know how to be American middle-school students. They know little about school-spirit. They are not sure why being in band or in chorus or in the computer club might be important. They frequently confuse teachers' friendly demeanor with permissiveness and they quickly find themselves in trouble. They understand little of what goes on around them, and often they become discouraged and disinterested.

GAINING ENTRY

The process of obtaining permission to conduct research at Garden School was facilitated by the fact that one of us (Valdés) had visited the school the previous year and had been introduced to the principal by a woman who was close to her and who had trained various teachers to use computers in their classrooms. Initial conversations with the principal, Mrs. Katz, about the project, therefore, were productive, and we were introduced to Mrs. Wallace, one of two ESL teachers in the school. Mrs. Wallace, who had begun teaching at Garden School the year before the study began, showed an interest in working with the project personnel.

During the summer before the study began, we met with Mrs. Wallace to explain the goals of the project. We provided Mrs. Wallace with a written description of the research goals as well as the kinds of cooperation and involvement that the project would require of her. Mrs. Wallace agreed to allow us (Valdés and her research assistant, Rosa Rodríguez) to visit her classroom and to identify newly arrived Latino-background students for the researchers who might be good candidates for focal subjects. She agreed to allow the team to visit once to twice a week and to share with them written products produced by her students. She also consented to talking with researchers about different students. We, in turn, agreed to assist her in teaching students to use a paint-and-draw program for children (Kid Pix) on a Macintosh computer that was available in her classroom.

THE FOCAL SUBJECTS

Subject Selection

A total of four Latino were chosen for final, in-depth study. Detailed information was gathered about each of these students including precise descriptions of each student's English growth and development over a two-year period. In addition to the four students who were studied in great detail, general information was also gathered on the larger group of immigrant students attending the schools that were part of the study. Descriptions of school programs, school activities, classroom interactions, teacher attitudes, and the like are based on the investigation of the experiences of both the four focal students as well as on the observation of the other non-English-background students who were present in the classrooms in which the research took place.

The Focal Subjects at Garden School

The four Latino focal students who were chosen for the study were part of a larger group of six students who were initially followed closely. The names of potential focal students were drawn from a list of newly-arrived youngsters enrolled in Mrs. Wallace's

Core NEP (non-English-proficient) class. This class enrolled students in sixth, seventh, and eighth grades and provided instruction in ESL and in social studies.

The teacher, Mrs. Wallace, contributed suggestions and a list of names of students whom she knew or thought to be almost at zero English. We had requested such a list in the hope of identifying newly-arrived students two of whom had received a good education in their home countries and two of whom might have had less access to education. It was hoped that students would be present in the class who could be followed at the middle school level for a period of two years. Eighth-grade students were therefore excluded from consideration as were students who clearly appeared to be in the Bay Area for a short period of time.

Before narrowing down their selection, we spent time interacting with the entire group of NEP students present in Mrs. Wallace's classroom. In our role as computer tutors, we were able to call students to the computer, to interact with them in English and Spanish, to record these interactions, and to ask questions about their previous schooling and background.

These interactions revealed that students enrolled in the class for non-English speakers included a broad range of English language experiences. The following profiles are indicative of the age, background, and English language exposure of the group of young people from which the selection of focal students was made.

Name[3]	Educational Background	Exposure to the English Language
Javier	Good educational background. Completed third year of secundaria in Mexico	None newly arrived
José	In the United States since third grade	Good understanding of English. Could understand our instructions in English. Could carry on a conversation in English about his family and background.
Georgina	In the United States about a year. Originally from the U.S.-Mexico border.	Some understanding of English. Much exposure to English on the border
Leonor	In the United States less than a year. From a rural area of Michocan, Mexico. Very little formal schooling.	No understanding of English.
Elisa	From Honduras. Completed fifth grade. Could list all subjects she studied the previous year.	No understanding of English Mother has been here several years and speaks English.

[3] Names have been changed to protect the identity of the all students.

Lilian	From a rural area near Guadalajara Mexico. Completed fifth grade in Mexico.	No understanding of English
Yesenia	In the U.S.. eight months. From Guadalajara, Mexico. Commented that school in Mexico was not very good. Teachers often absent.	No understanding of English
Selina	In the U.S. two years. From Puebla, Mexico. Could name subjects she studied in school in Mexico.	Understood quite a bit of English. Was reluctant to speak.
Marva	In the U.S. a few months. Older than most students. Attended secundaria in Mexico. City.	Little understanding of English. Older siblings—who have been here longer—are teaching her English
Manolo	In the U.S. three months. Attended secundaria in Mexico City. Could describe classes in great detail.	Understood a very limited amount of English.
Octavio	In the U.S. for one year. No information given about previous schooling.	Could carry on a conversation in English and could respond to questions. Has brother who is helping with English.

After a one-month period during which we observed those students who appeared to meet the study's criteria, we selected the following six students for initial, in-depth study.

Lilian Duque	No understanding of English.
Manolo Fuentes	Understood a very limited amount of English.
Elisa Lara	No understanding of English. Mother has been here several years and speaks English.
Leonor Mata	No understanding of English.
Javier Gómez	None; newly arrived.
Georgina Salas	Some understanding of English. Much exposure to English on the border.

Of the above students, Javier, Manolo, Georgina, and Elisa appeared to be literate in Spanish at age-appropriate levels. Leonor and Lilian appeared to have had more limited educational backgrounds.

Unfortunately, Georgina did not fill out the required forms which would have allowed her to be part of the study, and Leonor and Javier left Garden School before the Christmas break. They were part of the study, therefore, for only a short period of time. Data gathered from Leonor during the time that she was part of the study, however, is included in the analysis to be presented here.

After the Christmas break, a newly arrived youngster who met the study's criteria was added to the group of focal students. This youngster, Bernardo Salas, was selected because he had been a student at the *secundaria* level in Mexico and was from the

Cuernavaca area close to Mexico City. He was the closest substitute available for Javier who had also had a strong educational background. No appropriate substitute was found for Leonor.

From January 1992 to June 1992 of the first year, then, two boys (Manolo Fuentes and Bernardo Salas) and two girls (Elisa Lara and Lilian Duque) were followed closely within the context of their experiences at Garden School. During the second year (September 1992 to June 1993), Elisa and Bernardo were followed at Garden School and Manolo and Lilian were followed at two other schools to which they transferred. Lilian transferred to Crenshaw School located within the same community as Garden School, and Manolo transferred to John F. Kennedy School (J.F.K.) located in a neighboring school district.

In sum, final focal student selection involved a total of four months of observations at Garden School. Characteristics of the four students as determined at the time of selection included the following:

Schooled in a rural area	Elisa, Lilian
Schooled in an urban or largely urban area	Manolo, Bernardo
High literacy skills	Bernardo
Medium literacy skills	Manolo, Elisa
Low literacy skills	Lilian
English-speaking parent(s)	Manolo, Elisa
Monolingual Spanish-speaking parents	Lilian, Bernardo
Sixth grade students	Manolo, Bernardo
Seventh grade students	Lilian, Elisa

DATA COLLECTION

The collection of data at Garden School with the Latino Children included the following tasks:

1. Initial Interviews and Observations
2. Assessments of the English Language Proficiency of Focal Subjects
3. Classroom and School Observations
4. Collection of Written Products Produced Inside and Outside of School
5. Interviews with School Personnel
6. Interviews with Focal Students

The methodology used in carrying out each of these tasks will be described below:

1. Initial Interviews and Observations

As soon as students were selected for participation in the study, they and their principal caretaker or parent were interviewed in the home setting in order to establish rapport and in order to obtain information on topics such as the following:

- family and personal history
- description of home region

- description of previous school experiences
- educational goals before coming to US
- relationships established in the community
- views about the US
- favorite activities and pastimes
- sources of English at home or in community setting
- attitudes about English
- use of written language

All initial interviews were conducted in either Spanish and recorded.

2. Assessments of the English Language Proficiency of Focal Subjects

A total of four English language proficiency assessments were made during the two years of the study. These assessments focused on students' developing functional ability in English. In order to explore the range of both receptive and productive abilities, researchers included a number of different tasks in the assessment procedures. While the exact nature of the tasks varied depending on the student and his or her willingness and ability to participate, the procedures involved students in a number of simulated situations. Their performance in these simulated interactions offered important insights into their ability to carry out specific actions/activities in English. (A copy of the various assessment questionnaires and procedures used for assessing English language proficiency is included in Appendix A.)

Summarizing briefly, the following types of abilities or competencies were examined:

For receptive competence:

Listening

1. Ability to understand connected discourse after advance organizer was given
2. Ability to participate in an English conversation

Reading

1. Ability to recognize subject matter area of school textbook
2. Ability to "gist" passage on known subject (e.g., entertainment personality, home country)
3. Ability to obtain information from school textbook

For productive competence:

Speaking

1. Ability to respond to questions requesting personal information
2. Ability to use English to obtain goods or services
3. Ability to talk about school subjects (gisting, summarizing, etc.)

Writing

1. Ability to write words that he/she can say
2. Ability to write phrases/sentences he/she can say
3. Ability to describe self in writing
4. Ability to summarize materials read in writing

In addition to the information obtained from these assessment procedures, available information obtained by the school using other procedures or standardized instruments was collected.

3. Classroom and School Observations

Observations were carried out in the school setting on a weekly basis. During the first months of the project, observations were conducted on a bi-weekly basis. The purpose of these observations was to collect information about:

- the ESL instructional program(s) in which the student was enrolled
  These programs were carefully observed so that the exact nature of the English-language study undertaken by students could be used as a background for the analysis of English language development in both oral and written modes.
- the subject-matter classes in which the student was enrolled
  These observations and tape recordings focused on the demands made by these classes on the oral and written English language skills of the focal students.
- general school-wide context
  These observations focused on:
  - peer relationships within the program and school
  - language use inside and outside of classrooms
  - sources of English inside and outside of classrooms
  - sources and nature of written English surrounding student

The researchers received permission to visit the subject-matter classes of all focal students during the first year. During the second year, the two student who transferred from Garden School to other schools were observed primarily in their ESL classes.

Observations were carried out at Garden School by Valdés and Rodríguez during the first year of the study. During the second year, Valdés took on responsibility for observing in the other two schools (Crenshaw School and John F. Kennedy School). Rodríguez continued to observe focal students at Garden School.

In general, both researchers carried out observations in classrooms by sitting in the room and tape recording and/or taking notes of all activities and events observed. When allowed to do so, researchers walked around the room and interacted with small groups of students or otherwise participated in the activities in which students were engaged.

4. Collection of Written Products Produced Inside and Outside of School

Products produced both at school and elsewhere were collected as available. Such products included work sheets, written assignments, projects, tests, and other miscellaneous materials.

5. Interviews with School Personnel

Interviews were carried out with the school principal, ESL teachers, teacher aides, subject matter teachers, and other school personnel. The purpose of these interviews was to gain insights into the school's program for non-English-background students, its goals, design, and relative success. Additionally, these interviews were expected to

provide information about: (1) levels of proficiency usually obtained by immigrant students in two years; (2) general characteristics of "good" students; and (3) hypotheses about differences between and within groups.

A list of key topics was used to guide all interviews, but in each case, the specific tactics and techniques used were those appropriate to the circumstances. A number of individuals (e.g., the assistant principal, teacher aides) were interviewed repeatedly during the course of the project.

6. Interviews with Focal Students

Interaction with focal students was carried out frequently. Such interactions involved students and researchers in conversations which focused on such topics as: students' experiences in their new country, their adjustment to the school and the community, their growth in English language skills, etc. These conversations were informal and took place both inside and outside of school.

THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF ENGLISH

The progress and the growth made in learning English by the focal students needs to be understood against the framework of the trends, tendencies and difficulties encountered in the teaching of ESL in this country. The particular programs in which the focal students were enrolled, the nature of classroom interaction that we observed, and indeed the students' success and failure in learning English reflected the many current tensions being experienced by the ESL profession as a whole. Our purpose in describing what we observed in great detail and in outlining the growth and development in English made by each of our focal students is neither to praise not to find fault with program implementation or with individual modes of instruction. Rather, it is to paint as complete a picture as possible of the contexts in which our eight students began the process of acquiring a second language. Because our principal purpose, however, was to understand the development of English language writing proficiencies as these relate to English language acquisition in general, we comment in particular about the use of the written language in ESL classrooms, about philosophies guiding the teaching of writing, and about opportunities encountered by students to develop writing abilities on their own. Again, our intention is not to pass judgment on what should or should not be ideal practices for ESL instructors but simply to offer a description of what these practices were in the classrooms that we observed. Where appropriate we provide interpretations of how these practices appeared to support—or appeared not to support—the English-language development needs of these particular eight students.

This section describes the academic programs in which the students were enrolled and the progress made by each focal student in his/her development of English language proficiencies. The section is divided into two segments. The first segment describes the program and the students' progress during the first year of the study at Garden School. The second segment describes the students' progress during the second year of the study as well as the academic programs at the three different schools that the focal students attended.

THE FIRST YEAR: THE ESL PROGRAM AT GARDEN SCHOOL

The Program

During the 1991-92 school year, the program for non-English background students who were not yet proficient in English was divided into four levels. These levels were: NEP (non-English-proficient), LEP (limited English proficient), Advanced LEP (advanced limited English proficient), and transition or sheltered core. The particular courses offered at each of these levels included the following:

NEP Core (6, 7, 8)
Designed for *non-English-proficient* students who had little or no background in English. The NEP Core class met for three periods per day and enrolled students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. English language and social studies were taught during this period.

LEP (6,7,8)
Designed for students who had been classified as *limited English proficient*. Met for two periods per day and enrolled students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. Covered only English language.

LEP SS (6,7,8)
Companion course to LEP. Met for one period. Covered social studies and enrolled students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades.

Advanced LEP (6,7,8)
Designed for students who had been classified as *advanced, limited-English-proficient*. Covered only English language. Met for two periods per day and enrolled students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades.

Sheltered Core (6,7,8)
Designed as a transition course between the mainstream English language courses and advanced LEP. Covered English language. Principal focus of the class was the development of writing proficiencies. Met for two periods per day and enrolled students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades.

In addition to the language courses *per se*, the following subject-matter courses were open to students in the program:

NEP Sheltered Science
NEP Home Arts (7-8)
NEP Sheltered Math
NEP Sheltered Computers
LEP Science (6,7,8)

As will be noted, most of the courses intended for NEP (non-English-speaking) student enrolled youngsters who were in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. There were no single-grade ESL or sheltered courses at Garden School.

Except for NEP Sheltered Math, which was taught by the special education teacher, sheltered courses in science, computers and home arts were taught by regular subject-matter teachers who had agreed to be part of the program. Each of the NEP sheltered courses had as a goal teaching subject matter *in English* (e.g., earth science, cooking, math) to students who were at zero or almost zero English. The particular strategies utilized by teachers to accomplish this feat and the problems encountered by them during the 1991-92 school year will be discussed at some length below.

Typically, students entering Garden Middle-School who had no previous background in English were placed in NEP core and in NEP Sheltered Science and NEP Sheltered Math. Students also took PE and had a choice between NEP Sheltered Computers and NEP Sheltered Home Arts.

During the first year of the study, for example, four of our focal students were enrolled in the following courses:

Period	Manolo	Elisa	Lilian	Bernardo
1	NEP Core	NEP Core	NEP Core	NEP Core
2	NEP Core	NEP Core	NEP Core	NEP Core
3	NEP Core	NEP Core	NEP Core	NEP Core
4	PE	NEP Sheltered Math	PE	PE
5	NEP Sheltered Science	NEP Sheltered Science	NEP Sheltered Science	NEP Sheltered Science
6	NEP Sheltered Math	NEP Sheltered Home Arts	NEP Sheltered Math	NEP Sheltered Math
7	NEP Sheltered Computers	PE	NEP Sheltered Computers	NEP Sheltered Computers

Placement and Assessment

In California, students who enroll in school for the first time are asked to complete a home language survey. This survey asks a series of yes-no questions in order to determine if a language other than English is spoken at home and to decide whether the student should be included in a language assistance program. The survey is a screening procedure that allows school personnel to determine which children need to have their English language proficiencies tested. In theory, all children whose home survey identifies them as speaking a language other than English at home must then be assessed using one of the state-approved instruments. This assessment is to be carried out as early as possible in the school year in order to ensure that students are given access to whatever language assistance programs are available.

According to the Council of Chief State School Officers (1993), each of the fifty states has established procedures to identify and assess the English language proficiency of students whose native language is not English. Though all states have established such procedures, there is no absolute agreement about what limited English proficiency is or

about what kinds of assessment methods (tests, interviews, observations) should be used.

At Garden School, both home language surveys and an approved instrument were used to assess language proficiency and to place students in appropriate program. The instrument used during the 91-92 school year was the IDEA Proficiency Test which was used to determine student levels of English proficiency as well as to monitor student progress.

It is important to note, however, that because of the large number of students entering the school and because there was little time available between the time that students registered for school and the time school began, many students were placed in courses at Garden School during that year their English language proficiency was formally assessed. In general, all students whose English had not been assessed, who were newly arrived, and who indicated that a non-English language was spoken at home were placed in the NEP sequence. If its was later determined by the student's performance in the classroom or by the test when it was administered that she belonged at a higher level, she was then moved to the appropriate classes in the sequence.

Specifically, the IDEA Proficiency Test is an instrument designed to be administered and scored by school personnel. The test consists of 6 score levels which are then used to classify students as NES (Non-English Speaking), LES (Limited English Speaking) and FES (Fluent English Speaking). Scores and levels are matched as follows:

Score Levels	A	B	C	D	E	F	Mastery
	NES	LES				FES	

Within the test itself, level A, for example, consists of 15 questions. If students make a total of four or more errors in answering these questions, their performance is scored as being at level A. If they have less than 3 errors, the test continues to the questions at level B and so forth. The number of questions at each succeeding level remains the same, but the criteria for scoring allow classification at three different levels. For example, the scoring criteria for level F read as follows:

Total # of Level F Errors _____

9 or more errors: Score is Level E.
5 -8 errors: Score is Level F
4 or less: Score is M (Mastery of Test).

The testing/scoring booklet guides the examiner in determining correct and incorrect answers. The test is administered orally and requires the use of a set of illustrations within which the student identifies certain objects when requested to do so.

Overall, the test measures students listening comprehension ability (e.g., Point to the astronaut in the top left corner of the picture.), grammar (What is the plural of mouse?),

and vocabulary (What tool would you use to cut through wood?). To pass level C, for example, students are expected to know the numbers up to 1000, to be able to point to the appropriate clock when told the time of day, to be able to produce the comparative and superlative forms of regular adjectives, to give the appropriate verb form when given a particular pattern (e.g., Is he working? No he isn't. Are they working? No they _____.), and to comprehend a short segment of connected discourse.

In essence this test, like many other tests of its kind, can offer only the most superficial view of a student's actual academic language proficiency. The test authors have provided no evidence, for example, that the particular tasks and questions contained on the test actually reflect the demands made on students by a mainstream classroom setting. It is thus possible for students to score at the highest levels on this test and still not be able to comprehend and interpret texts used in their classes, to understand instructional discourse, to produce written text, and to use oral language appropriately for academic purposes. Conversely, students can be classified as less proficient than they really might be because they have not have studied the particular vocabulary tested (e.g. hatchet, ax) or because they have not learned or been taught grammatical terminology.

Testing at Garden School the First Year

During the fall of 1991, Valdés and Rodríguez offered to help school personnel in administering the IPT after it became clear that a number of students in the program had not yet been tested and that help from the school district was unavailable. The testing carried out by the researchers took place during the last two weeks of October. This activity provided a unique opportunity for finding out a great deal about the students who were tested during that particular period, their backgrounds, and their initial and continuing placements. It became clear, for example, that at Garden School test scores determined whether initial placement was or was not confirmed for students entering the school for the first time. Previous study of English, number of years of residence in this country, and the like were not weighed heavily in initial placement decisions. As a result, it was possible for a youngster who had been schooled totally in English in this country beginning in the first grade to be placed in the ESL program. If she/he came from a non-English-speaking background and, according to the IPT test, did not test as FES, he/she was considered to be unable to learn new content through English. It did not matter that the student had, in fact, been schooled exclusively in English up to the point that he/she entered Garden School. At Garden, he/she was treated as limited English proficient and placed in the NEP/LEP program.

Conversely, it is important to note that at Garden School the language assessment scores and classifications did not *by themselves* determine students' exit from the ESL program. Students were not exited from the program or placed at higher levels within the ESL sequence simply because of their scores on the IPT. Once *in* the program, placement was primarily determined by the teacher's judgment of students general performance on classroom tasks and assignments. Students, for example, who had not completed a particular textbook, or who had poor grades on classroom tests on spelling and grammar were not permitted to advance further no matter how proficient they might otherwise seem in their use of English.

In addition to the IPT test, students reading ability in English was also tested using the Gates-Mcginity reading test. Normally these tests were administered and scored by the teacher aide in the NEP classroom.

To our knowledge, no assessments of first language competencies (e.g., reading and writing abilities in Spanish) were made by the school. Additionally, little information was available to teachers about the educational levels attained by NEP students who were schooled in their own countries.

The NEP Classroom: Teaching ESL to Newly Arrived Students

The ESL Teachers

During the 1991-92 school year, there were two ESL teachers at Garden School. The senior teacher, Mrs. Andrews, had been at Garden for many years. Although she was herself of Latino background and spoke Spanish fluently, she was known to her colleagues by an anglicized nickname that went well with the surname Andrews. Originally a special education teacher, she had found her responsibilities shifting to ESL and away from special education as the population in the school changed. A small dark-haired and energetic woman, Mrs. Andrews was the enthusiastic champion of those Mexican-background students whom she believed to be hardworking and motivated. She routinely contacted students' families to inform them of the kinds of things that she expected of their children, but she had little patience with behavior problems or with simple adolescent laziness. In her class, she ran a tight ship, and closely followed the ESL textbook series which was grammar-based. Among her colleagues and school administrators, Mrs. Andrews had the reputation of being a good, traditional, no-nonsense teacher who had a difficult time responding to change.

Mrs. Wallace was the young or "new" ESL teacher at the school who was hired in response to the growing population of non-English-speaking students at Garden. She was woman in her late thirties who had taught English in Venezuela for a number of years and who had learned some Spanish in college and in the course of living in Venezuela. Her ESL assignment at Garden appeared to be Mrs. Wallace's first experience at teaching ESL in an American public school. Her previous teaching experience had been at the second grade level where she had implemented a literature-based curriculum with mainstream, English-speaking students.

In contrast to Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Wallace was enthusiastic about rethinking the ESL program at Garden. She often spoke about the constraints that she worked under because of Mrs. Andrews traditional expectations for the NEP and LEP students that they shared. Again in contrast to Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Wallace had no contact with her students families, nor did she appear to be particularly close to any of the students themselves.

It is essential to point out that the 1991-92 school year was particularly hard for Mrs. Wallace because she was pregnant during the fall semester and gave birth to her first child in mid January. She requested and received a single-quarter's leave of absence (January to March) after the birth of her son.

Mrs. Wallace's Classroom

During the 1991-92 school year, Mrs. Wallace's NEP class included a small group of students who were truly at zero and who had recently arrived in this country as well as a number of students at different levels and proficiencies. About one third of the students, for example, had been in Mrs. Andrew's NEP class the previous year, while a few others had been "demoted " back to NEP because of their behavior or their attitude. The underlying assumption guiding the structure of the lowest level of the ESL program seemed to be that newly arrived students would normally spend two years at the NEP level. One year they would be in Mrs. Wallace's class, and the next year they would enroll in Mrs. Andrews' class. Only very exceptional students would move from NEP to LEP in one year.

The NEP class, then, included at least three levels of beginning English learners: a low level, a mid level and a high level. Newly arrived students made up the low level and second year NEP students made up both the mid and the high levels. They were joined at these levels by students whom we came to refer to as " punitive NEPs" and—at the beginning of the year—by students who were placed in classes prior to proficiency assessment. As the year progressed, there was some movement to the mid and even high NEP levels by newly arrived students, particularly those of Chinese and Japanese background.

Mrs. Wallace and her instructional aide Mrs. Maphy (a native of India) provided instruction in the NEP social studies and language core for sixth, seventh, and eighth graders. Their class, then, was heterogeneous at several levels.

The NEP class was scheduled for the first three periods of the day beginning at 8:00 am and ending at 10:38. The morning break for the school took place immediately after second period (9:37 to 9:50 am).

Morning activities began with students coming into the classroom and taking their seats at tables of four to six students. After the bell rang, Mrs. Wallace expected students to sit quietly and to listen to announcements as they came in over the public address system. When the announcements were finished, classroom activities began with a salute to the flag, and with a student volunteer's announcing the day's date .

For the greater part of the year, during the beginning of this first period, the teacher would work with the entire class. She spoke exclusively in English, and although she could clearly speak some Spanish, she firmly refused to use this language with her students. During the first few moments of class, she would speak about general activities coming up (e.g., parent-teacher conferences, books that could be ordered, contributing to the Thanksgiving food drive). These remarks were generally aimed at the mid and high level NEP students who had some comprehension abilities in English. It is unlikely that these presentations were actually comprehensible to most of the newly arrived students.

The second activity for the day involved a punctuation and spelling activity focusing on days of the week and dates. Mrs. Wallace would write sentences such as the following on the board:

> To die is thurzday Ocrober 3rd!. 19.91;
> ToMorrow WILL be friday November 2? 1,9,92,
> Yesterday was Wednesday the 23rd of October

Students would raise their hands and volunteer to correct one error at a time. Most students in the class—even the most reticent and shy—tended to participate in this activity. Mrs. Wallace gave a lot of positive feedback to each student who corrected an error successfully. Toward the latter part of the year, this activity expanded to included the elicitation of punctuation rules by students. Normally, Mrs. Wallace would offer the frame that would allow very beginning level students to state the rule:

> You put a period there because it's the end of ____what?___. Of a sentence? Yes very good!.

While activities varied during the latter part of first period and during the second period, this time generally involved an activity in social studies. At the beginning of the year, for example, students were given maps of the community in which they lived and asked to identify particular landmarks and to color them. Crayons were passed out to all tables and much attention was given to the care with which students carried out the coloring assignment.

During the first months of the year, students were taught directions (north, south, east, west) and the basics of reading a map legend. They also drew and colored maps of their neighborhoods.

Students at all three levels participated in these activities. Instructions about what to color, what to identify and the like were normally translated in whispers by the high level students to the other two groups of students who were having trouble making sense of these activities.

When visiting in the classroom, we often walked around the tables and helped to answer student questions about the activity. Because most students (especially the focal students) were aware that both researchers spoke Spanish, they were often addressed in this language. At the beginning, we responded in this language and also used this language to instruct students on the use of the computer. Mrs. Wallace, however, strongly objected to the use of Spanish in her classroom and stated that students tended to become lazy and to make little effort to learn English if they were spoken to in Spanish. Because of her philosophy, we spoke in English as much as possible. There were moments nevertheless when the complexity of the assignment was such and the students' confusion so great that they were forced to used a sentence or two in Spanish.

During the language segment of the instructional period, Mrs. Wallace and Mrs. Maphy both worked with small groups of students while others worked at their tables. Groups were given names (e.g., Little Condors, White Rabbits) reflecting Mrs. Wallace's previous teaching experience at the second grade level. Indeed, the small group activities were quite reminiscent of elementary school reading groups. The teacher would sit with her back to the board—students around a table with her—and generally teach segments of the classroom text *New Horizons*. Our observations of these activities took place at a distance since during this time we were expected to ask students doing seat-work to work individually with us on the computer located at the back of the room. However, from time to time, when both Rodríguez and Valdés were observing together, it was possible to eavesdrop on these activities to some degree. In general, instruction during this time involved the teaching of structure: (Use *when* in a sentence) and the

teaching of vocabulary (Use *living room* in a sentence). A flip chart of "mini-tests" focusing primarily on structure was located next to the table where this small group instruction took place.

Group instruction for the lowest group was carried out by Mrs. Maphy. Her activities were generally carried out more loudly than those carried out by Mrs. Wallace, and it was possible to get a very good sense of what these activities involved. In general, Mrs. Maphy focused on vocabulary. With very beginning students she used the "IDEA" box (a box of flashcards of vocabulary which is part of the curriculum available to support the IDEA Proficiency Test used in the school). Mrs. Maphy would hold up a card and say the English word. Students were expected to repeat. At later stages, she held up the card and expected individual students to say the English word. Mrs. Maphy normally tried to expand beyond the pronunciation of a single word and tended to use all words in a sentence. It was her job, she told the researchers, to teach the beginning concepts and vocabulary that were tested at the first two levels of the IPT test. The students usually listened quietly, day dreamed, or looked around the room.

Students at their seats were primarily engaged in coloring and copying sentences. Newly arrived students and students who came into the classroom later in the year were given mimeo sheets that had the form shown on the following page. Students were expected to copy the English sentence and to carefully color the accompanying small picture of the object in question. For reasons we did not entirely understand, coloring was highly valued as an activity. Mrs. Maphy commented that it was important because many of these children had not had the opportunity to work with crayons in their own countries. In any event, coloring small pictures took up a great deal of time and otherwise kept students—whose English was so low that they could not profit from other activities—quite busy. It was not clear, however, whether students understood what they were writing in English or how to say the words that they were writing.

More advanced students working at their seats also copied sentences. These students, however, normally copied from the workbook accompanying the class text. Sentences included structures such as the following: *The man has a brown hat. The boy lives in the house. The hat is on the chair.* As was the case with the beginning students, it was not obvious to us that the students knew how to pronounce the segments that they were writing or that they had a clear sense of the meaning of the different elements. Certainly, they were part of the unit that was being covered in small groups, but it is clear that these exercises presented a challenge because, when we circulated around the room, we often overheard students whispering explanations and definitions to each other in Spanish. Often, we ourselves were asked for help.

Not all language instruction took place in groups. Mrs. Wallace was quite fond of reading aloud to the entire class using children's illustrated books from her days at the elementary school level. During an entire month, for example, she read to the students from children's books about baboons and capuchin monkeys. The books were truly delightful, pop-up books that would probably have interested students even as old as those in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades had they been able to handle the books themselves. As it was, Mrs. Wallace read from the books and held them up from time to time for students to see. Most students sitting in the room had a hard time (as did we) in making out the pictures.

REVIEW

I ♥ 2 SCHOOL

2 Listen, repeat, write.

9.

This is the chalk.

This is the chalk.

10.

This is the window.

This is the window.

11.

This is the eraser.

This is the eraser.

12.

This is the book.

This is the book.

13.

This is the table.

This is the table.

14.

This is the bathroom.

This is the bathroom.

15.

This is the ball.

This is the ball.

16.

This is the bell.

This is the bell.

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As a comprehensible input activity supported by pictures, this book reading was less than totally successful. Most students in the room probably understood little beyond the fact that she was talking about monkeys. However, the high level beginners did indeed comprehend some of the extended discourse she provided, and, for these students, this was a worthwhile activity.

Another favorite activity for Mrs. Wallace was the game traditionally known as "hangman" but which she softened by calling "hang the spider." It appeared to us that Mrs. Wallace played this game with some frequency especially when she had extra time between the end of one activity and the end of the period of instruction. In our observations, we witnessed the playing of this game almost every time that we visited the class. Typically, this was a full class activity in which Mrs. Wallace used vocabulary words from a topic she considered the entire class to be familiar with. Often this vocabulary was drawn from the social studies material (e.g., north, south), but this was not always the case. In playing the game, Mrs. Wallace drew the typical hangman structure and wrote the first and last letters of the word to be guessed by the students. Students raised their hands to respond and were generally scolded for talking out of turn. Guesses of the entire word were not permitted.

In terms of English language development, this activity seemed to be accessible even to the least proficient students. By participating in this game these students could potentially learn the names of the letters. It is not clear, however, whether this particular group of students gained much from the game as a vocabulary exercise. Because the words picked for the game often came from different areas and topics (e.g., Garden School, grandfather), it was not always apparent that students knew what the various words actually meant. They participated in the game by simply guessing letters and did not appear to be particularly concerned about discovering what the entire word might be.

The Teaching of Reading

The teaching of reading, as far as we could determine, did not take up much classroom time. During the entire year, we witnessed no instruction given on reading itself. Reading, however, did take place. Essentially, mid and high level NEP students were expected to work independently with several sets of the *Barnell-Loft* readers. At the lowest level, these readers generally include brief passages accompanied by illustrations. Students were expected to read the passage and to guess the meaning of words in context. It is important to point out that these readers are generally used with special education students who are native speakers of English. Because of this, these materials make assumptions about the native language abilities of their readers. The multiple choice questions, for example, expect that students will have a large passive English language vocabulary.

Each of the levels included in the series of readers focuses students on particular kinds of reading (reading for main idea, guessing meaning in context , etc.). All readings are brief and all questions are multiple choice. In Mrs. Wallace class, students used a specially made answer sheet to enter their answers and to keep a record of their progress. It appeared, however, that only the highest level students progressed beyond the first level readers.

In addition to the *Barnell-Loft* readers, Mrs. Wallace made available in her room large number of colorful children's books in English. These books were generally at the first or second grade level. The assumption seemed to be that beginning ESL students would find such books accessible because of their simplicity. Unfortunately, however, there was little in these books to interest young adolescents. Stories about rabbits and other animals did not seriously engage students for very long. More importantly, even though these books were written for beginning readers, they were in fact written for young readers who are native speakers of the language. Such readers ordinarily have a wide spoken vocabulary which they can use to make sense of the print that they decode. This was not the case for the NEP students who were in the very early stages of acquiring English.

The Teaching of Writing

Instruction in writing in Mrs. Wallace's NEP class was colored by the fact that we entered her classroom having expressed a particular interest in the development of writing abilities in ESL students. We stressed the fact that we had no preconceived notions about what the best practices should be and that we simply wanted to examine how students progressed over time given the demands placed on them by the ESL class and by their subject matter classes. Nevertheless, it became clear to us that the teacher very much tried to please us and therefore frequently engaged in writing activities when we were present in her classroom. She also saved materials written by members of her class so that we would see them on our next visit. It is important to point out that, in spite of her willingness to introduce writing into her ESL program, Mrs. Wallace had many insecurities about how we might respond to the ways in which she actually taught writing. Consequently, she often engaged Rosa Rodríguez in conversations about the profession's response to different pedagogies. We conjectured that because Rodríguez was a graduate student, Mrs. Wallace found her more approachable than Valdés.

It is our conjecture that without our presence in the classroom, attention to the written language would have been limited to the copying of sentences and vocabulary. We also suspect that much more attention would have been given to penmanship itself. For example, we noted that much effort was given to moving students from printing into cursive as well as to teaching students how to write the required headings on all assignments that were to be handed in. Several long segments of time were devoted to teaching the following heading format:

Subject	Name
Assignment	Date

In general, Mrs. Wallace's NEP students produced writing by using *guided composition* strategies. Because Mrs. Wallace was particularly concerned about grammatical errors, she tried to guide students into producing sentences that were grammatically correct. In order to do so, she involved students in a very controlled process in which she gave a frame such as:

Capuchin monkeys _____

and a set of elements that could be placed in the blank. For the capuchin monkey piece, for example, the following elements were written on the board.

breaking nuts on branches
live in the jungle in trees
live in South America
medium size monkeys
can jump from one tree to another
black and white monkeys

As will be apparent from the above example, students at the mid and high NEP levels who could manipulate these basic structures by adding needed elements actually produced grammatically correct sentences. Low level students, however, simply copied the structures and produced sentences such as:

Capuchin monkeys breaking nuts on branches.
Capuchin monkeys black and white monkeys

When there was little interest in the topic, activities such as this produced little frustration. On the other hand, when students really had something to say or wanted to attempt to say something real, they found this approach to writing very frustrating. On Halloween, for example, Mrs. Wallace gave a writing assignment that asked students to write about what they would do on Halloween night and how they would dress. She wrote the following elements on the board:

pirate	Bart Simpson	bird
ghost	Madonna	cat
rabbit	Jason	
pumpkin	princess	
turkey	skeleton	
ninja	monkey	

I want to be
go to a haunted house
go to a cemetery
go to a Halloween party
go trick or treating

For many of the youngsters, especially those that were newly arrived, Halloween was a new experience. That day at school many students in the mainstream classes and many teachers were wearing costumes. Students were excitedly talking among themselves and fantasizing about what they would like to be.

In completing the writing assignment, then, frustration was quite high. As we circulated among the tables, we were asked how to say and how to spell many things that were not on Mrs. Wallace's list. Respectful of the no Spanish rule imposed in the

classroom, we attempted to respond in English. We called out letters in English. When Valdés was overheard giving the correct spelling of a word to one student, however, the teacher intervened and asked Valdés to make the student "sound it out."

Overall, the Halloween writing activity—as did all other controlled writing activities—resulted in almost identical papers written by the different members of the class. These products, rather than written in paragraph form—consisted of a list of numbered sentences such as the following samples:

The Grand Tetons

1. I say a moose in the movie.
2. There are mountains
3. There is two elk were fighting.
4. I saw snow on mountains.
5. We saw snow on trees.
6. We saw snow on the ground
7. There is flying ducks.

(GR, Social Studies, 4-28-92)

The Grand Tetons

1. The Grand Tetons are very big.
2. Two elks were fighting.
3. The Grand Tetons are nex to the Yellowstone National Park
4. I saw a valley in the park.
5. I saw a moose in a lake.
6. I saw duks flying.
7. I saw snow on trees.

(MF, Social Studies, 4-28-92)

Overall, in Mrs. Wallace's class, the development of writing abilities was seen as a very controlled process in which students slowly learned how to write individual sentences using correct grammar and vocabulary. The focus of the activity was both form and correctness. Because like most ESL teachers, Mrs. Wallace had received no training in the "new" approaches to the teaching of writing, and because she was essentially behaviorist in orientation, she did not believe in multiple drafts, in free writing, in brainstorming or in any other techniques that might have placed the focus on meaning rather than form. She was not bothered by the fact that all her students wrote similar papers many of which actually had identical sentences.

Serendipity: Ms. McGrath's Classroom

Had it not been for the fact that during the 91-92 academic year Mrs. Wallace took a maternity leave during the winter quarter, the researchers might never have seen the NEP students actually engaged in different kinds of writing activities. Fortunately for the project—because of the contrast it provided—we had the opportunity of observing another teacher work with the very same students during a 10 week period.

Mrs. McGrath was in every possible sense the direct opposite of Mrs. Wallace. Blonde and stylish, Sandra McGrath exuded confidence and enthusiasm. She was not a trained ESL teacher, but rather was at the school in the role of a temporary physical education instructor. As compared to Mrs. Wallace, she cared very much about writing and had spent a year working with Mrs. Perry, another teacher in the school district who—at the elementary school level—had implemented a showcase program in "accelerated literacy" for LEP students. Mrs. Perry (also not a trained ESL specialist) was successful in making publishing English-language writers out of Latino students whom other teachers considered to be seriously limited in their English-speaking ability and in need of very structured ESL—not instruction in process writing.

The experience of viewing limited and non-English speakers as potential writers of English who could be taught using the many strategies currently popular with native English speaking children deeply colored the way in which Mrs. McGrath approached Mrs. Wallace's NEP class. When Valdés arrived in the classroom some days after Mrs. McGrath's arrival and began helping students at the computer with the children's paint and draw program as she had been for the first part of the year, Mrs. McGrath requested that Valdés teach students how to use a word processing program instead. She had already selected the *Writing Center* software for that purpose and had begun sending students who were enrolled in the sheltered computers class to work with it by themselves.

As did Mrs. Perry in her elementary accelerated literacy class, Mrs. McGrath also read stories and poetry to the NEP children. She expected them not only to appreciate the writing but also to produce such stories and poems themselves. Instead of worksheets, she gave students time to work on their rough drafts, to talk to each other in Spanish about their writing, to revise their drafts, and finally to enter their final product into the computer. These products varied in sophistication and correctness, but seemed to reflect students' attempts to create real meaning. Samples of such products are included below.

English Armando Castro

Is ugly to swiniming. There are many bird different kind a birds. Like eagle and puffins like to see the ocean pacific. The sky and you can heat the echo in the mountains and the birds there noisy and the ocean.

End

(AC, 4-19-92)

English Martha Serna
February 11, 1992

The Giving Tree.
The Tree is big.
The boy is under the tree.

(MS, 3-19-92)

Patricia Maria Paredes
For the valentine Marivin thick in the money. But Milton said i never have any money, That's because you never said any. Well i think with money or no money i have day for VALENTINE.

(PM, no date)

THE PUFFIN
Puffin is a animal the color black white and the mouth is color yellow and read in the rock in group of birds and eat a fish and incect.
Elisa

(EL, no date)

Students appeared to enjoy the experience of writing, particularly entering their writing into the computer and pasting into the text illustrations of different types. Mrs. McGrath posted many of these products on the wall.

As will be immediately obvious, there were many differences between the products that students wrote under Mrs. Wallace's direction and those they produced when writing for Mrs. McGrath. As opposed to the firmly controlled correctness of the guided composition products, the process approach to writing resulted in writing within which the meaning of the entire segment is frequently hard to make out. Moreover, writing and editing took a very long time. Not all students, for example, finished even one final draft of a written product. Students, however, were offered a new view of writing. They each were given journals, and they each were expected to write in their journals every day.

Problems and Challenges in the ESL Classroom

The experience of changing teachers in the middle of the school year was not easy for either the students or the two teachers. Students missed Mrs. Wallace and often responded negatively to Mrs. McGrath's style. They were not used to reading aloud in class. They were not used to being expected to find answers to worksheets in real textbooks. But Mrs. McGrath did not know about the students "limitations," and she proceeded to treat them as though they were middle-school students who could learn subject matter as well as English. Her social studies unit, for example, focused on the missions in California. She expected students to find the missions on the map, to answer questions about the history of the different missions, and to respond enthusiastically in a chorus to her questions. As opposed to Mrs. Wallace, Mrs. McGrath did not like a quiet room. She liked noise, activity, and talk.

The instructional aide, Mrs. Maphy, not surprisingly, was very ill at ease during this period. From time to time she would inform Mrs. McGrath that "these students" could not do this or that activity. For example, she objected strongly to an activity that involved students in coloring the entire map of the United States. She expressed surprise at the fact that Mrs. McGrath had not given students explicit instruction about what color they must use to color which parts of the map.

From a language acquisition perspective, much of what Mrs. McGrath did intuitively was right on target. She provided access to the language, and she provided

real content that needed to be discussed in the language that students were trying to learn. From a traditional ESL perspective, as compared to Mrs. Wallace, however, Mrs. McGrath knew little about how to actually "teach" English. Small group instruction on grammar took place infrequently, for example; and she made fewer distinctions between the low, mid, and high NEP students.

In spite of her many strengths, however, Mrs. McGrath became almost overwhelmed when a new student who had had no previous schooling in Mexico was put into her classroom. Indeed for a period of several weeks, Juana became the focus of tensions and disagreements between Mrs. Maphy and Mrs. McGrath. Mrs. Maphy was content to sit the student at a table and to have her classmates teach her how to color. Mrs. McGrath, on the other hand, wanted to do more. She instructed Mrs. Maphy to record vocabulary for Juana using a special card recorder and reader. With this machine, Juana could then sit and push individual cards into the machine, see the picture on the card, and hear the English word. This activity required that Mrs. Maphy record words using another special machine, cut out both a picture and a matching written word, and paste both of these on the "pre-recorded" card. Mrs. Maphy, who had many other things to do, did not agree that recording vocabulary for one student was a good use of her time.

Both Valdés and Rodríguez volunteered to help with Juana on the days that they were present in class. In the course of working with Juana, it became clear that, although she did not attend school, this fourteen-year-old girl had been taught a number of things at home by her mother. For example, she could count to fifty in Spanish and to ten in English. She could her write her name, and she seemed very eager to learn. Unfortunately, our weekly visits were not enough to truly help either Juana or the two teachers. Indeed, we concluded that in some ways, we may have made the situation worse. The following segment from Valdés's summary memorandum after one visit to the school reflects the frustration felt by all concerned.

> **Addendum to notes on notebook on observations March 24, 1992**
>
> I was very struck today by what Meli (Mrs. Maphy) and Sandra (Mrs. McGrath) were doing with Juana and by what clearly must happen to other kids like her.
>
> Sandra had decided that what Juana needed in order to learn to read was to do some phonics worksheets that involved the sounds of the vowels. When I arrived she was sitting there perplexed staring at the sheet. The first activity involved circling the capital and lower case *a's*. Meli had not been able to make clear to her what she wanted. (According to Sandra, Meli is quite nasty with Juana and is quite prejudiced.)
>
> She quickly got going when I modeled the behavior. Of course it was impossible for her to work with *alligator*, or *ape*, or *igloo* or any of the picture words, because she just did not know them.[4] What I decided to do, therefore, is to ask her how much she knows about letters. She told me that she knows (and it is clear that she does) all the names of the letters. She can also recognize lower

[4] The second worksheet required for her to circle long and short vowel sounds in animal and other object names. This activity assumed that a student knew the names of the animals pictured on the page which included *ape, alligator*, etc.

and upper case letters and had no problems working through the remaining work sheets that showed her how to do that.

I then did a bit of the *método onomatopéico*: ba, be bi, bo bu, da de di do du, etc. and had her see that the vowel sounds always stayed the same, and that each letter says its name. She then saw how the consonants blended and I wrote out high frequency words such as *Memo, dedo, casa, gato, pato, papa, mama,* and the like. The child has a very good memory and could say them all back to me very quickly. When she got confused, she didn't always know the sounding-out strategy, but she was trying. Toward the end, I had her recognizing quite a few words and she got a look of great delight on her face.

In the meantime, Meli looked worried and asked me to work with colors or with opposites. She kept trying to give me cards of isolated vocabulary words that are hard to remember by themselves. In any event, she got quite nervous about the fact that I was teaching Juana to read in Spanish. She somehow did not catch on to the fact that Juana has to grasp the concept of how letters are connected to sounds first and that this would not be wasted because consonant sounds transfer very well to English.

Sandra came over then, and I also explained what I was doing. Of course, she felt embarrassed because I suggested that Juana could not work with the work sheets because she didn't know the words in English. She then scolded Meli and told her that was why she wanted the cards (for the sound machine) made out.

What really bothered me was seeing how lost they both were, how they had no understanding of beginning reading and how there is no way to reach children that come with limited literacy skills in Spanish. The fact is that Juana learns very fast and that it would not take very long at all to get her reading in Spanish.

Sandra further commented that Juana has poor study skills and that she colors things all the same color. She somehow believes that this is developmental (like not having learned to crawl or something) and that she has to have the opportunity to learn how to color. She does not see that her beliefs about coloring are culturally based. Nor does she understand that Juana is bored with the totally meaningless worksheets. Half the time, she has no idea why she is doing what.

Juana is definitely a throwaway child. She is just too much trouble and there is simply too much to do.

(GV-Summary memo- 3-24-91)

As it turned out, Juana's presence at Garden School was very brief indeed. By April 3rd, she and her twin brothers nad left the school. Mrs. Maphy commented that the family had moved to another city in the Bay Area.

If Juana's presence is significant for our project, it is because it highlighted the many difficulties encountered by teachers of good will and dedication who are, nevertheless, not equipped to deal with illiterate children. Sandra McGrath is a dedicated professional whose attitude toward the NEP students was both positive and encouraging. But faced with a Juana, she quickly reached the limits of her experience. She did not have the luxury of sitting one-on-one as Valdés did to try to bring a single child to understand the relationship between print and sound. She had an aide who was

ultimately loyal to the "real" classroom teacher, who was not a native speaker of English, and who did not speak the language of the students who were most at-risk.

By March 31, Mrs. Wallace was back in her own classroom. Hang the spider returned as did controlled writing. The Little Condors were called up to work at the front table, and the low level students went back to coloring and doing worksheets at their tables. A new student from El Salvador was placed by the window where he could work by himself with the cards and the sound machine. In small group, Mrs. Wallace could be overheard asking, "What is an arm chair?" and then using the magnetic board to comment on the differences between a regular chair and an arm chair. "Who can make a sentence with arm chair?" she went on. "What is a comic book?" "What happens when you read a comic book?" "Who can give me a sentence with *drinking*?"

The students were delighted. Three of our focal students commented that they had missed her. They all said that they liked her much more than they did Mrs. McGrath. The first day, the entire class was a little noisy. Students forgot to raise their hand when they wanted to say something, and they tended to volunteer answers. Mrs. Wallace patiently reminded them that in her class only one student spoke at a time.

The Sheltered Classes

As was pointed out above, the NEP /LEP program at Garden school included both an ESL core and a set of "sheltered" subject-matter classes that were taught in English. According to Minicucci and Olsen (1992), sheltered English is an instructional approach which can be defined as follows:

> Sheltered English is an approach in which content instruction is offered in English to classes composed solely of English learners. The term "sheltered English" was coined by Krashen (Edwards et al., 1984) to mean subject-matter instruction made comprehensible to these students. In the sheltered English classroom, the focus is on subject matter and the students' attention is focused on the message (content) rather than the medium (language). Krashen stressed the fact that native English-speaking students are excluded from the Sheltered English classroom so that instruction can be directed at the English learners' level of comprehension. Sheltered English classes may use any of the following instructional strategies: (1) visual cues and manipulatives to help students understand what is being communicated; (2) language modifications (pauses, repetition, elaboration; (3) interactive lectures in which there is a continuous teacher-student dialogue; and (f) focus on key concepts rather than on details.

Ordinarily, sheltered instruction is recommended for students who are at the *intermediate* level of English language learning. It is *not recommended* for NEP students who are just beginning their study of English.

At Garden school, because of the special circumstances involved and because of the school's desire to provide some access to the curriculum to the newly-arrived students, sheltered instruction was implemented with students at almost zero English. The guidelines indicating that such instruction be used only with students who are at the intermediate (LEP) level were simply disregarded. In essence, Garden school—as is the

case in many schools where the population changes suddenly—had few choices available for serving the needs of newly arrived NEP students: (1) the school could enroll students in ESL and send them home for the periods in which no appropriate classes were available; (2) the school could enroll students in ESL and in several "non-challenging" subjects such as PE, art, and cooking; (3) the school could enroll students in ESL and offer content instruction (science, math, social studies) in the *native* languages of the largest groups attending the school; and (4) the school could attempt to use its resources to provide some adapted subject matter instruction in English.

After a period of taking the first option and sending small groups of students home at noon, school administrators did the very best they could.
After ascertaining that subject matter instruction in languages other than English could not be provided, they enlisted the help of several very dedicated teachers, and they designed a set of sheltered courses that would give NEP students some exposure to the subjects normally covered at the middle school level. Sarah Morton taught NEP sheltered science and LEP sheltered science. Vicky Emerson taught another section of NEP sheltered science. Justine Jackson taught NEP sheltered math, and Dorothy Thompson taught NEP sheltered computers.

The task of actually teaching subject-matter to students who did not understand any English at all was challenging indeed. Visits to each of the sheltered classes in which focal students were enrolled revealed that teachers spent hours preparing presentations with accompanying visuals in order to get across one or two main concepts. Sarah Morton, for example, who had arrived in this country as a monolingual Chinese-speaking teenager, planned every bit of her lessons by enlisting the help of Spanish-speaking friends and colleagues. She patiently explained very difficult concepts by drawing on overhead slides in several colors, and actually engaged students in carrying out experiments. At the beginning of the year, however, she found it very difficult to keep the students' attention. In spite of her efforts, students' English language ability was simply not at the level where they could actually learn concepts or understand explanations.

Throughout the year, observations in Mrs. Morton's NEP science revealed that the teacher made extraordinary efforts to engage students' attention and to use comprehensible English. During good days, some of the more serious students also made an effort to understand and to stay on task. Most of the time, however, the teacher managed to keep the students on task—whether listening to explanations or working on experiments—for a very small segment of the period. What made this version of "sheltered" instruction difficult, was that very few of the students understood any English at all. They listened for a short time; they made an attempt to understand; and they soon became exhausted by the effort involved in trying to comprehend a language that they did not know. They were easily distracted. When the teacher attempted to explain a concept using overheads and pictures and as she asked for student feedback, an especially unruly group of youngsters made comments aloud in Spanish. These remarks were intended to be funny, and, in general, they had the desired effect. Students would break into laughter and would respond returning insults and humorous remarks. Mrs. Morton tried her best to maintain order by varying class activities, by providing stimulating opportunities for hands-on science, and the like, but

during most of the year, the unruly group students was successful in creating almost daily disruptions.

Vicky Emerson, the other science teacher, also tried her best to excite NEP students about science. She was an extraordinarily creative teacher that had the reputation of running her science classes in such a way that her mainstream students were busy every moment. For such classes she designed activities that required group interaction, individual time management in carrying out sets of activities, and much freedom to explore and question. During the fall semester of 1991, in order to excite students about the study of outer space, she had sponsored a contest for her mainstream classes that involved making posters of the entire life cycle of stars. Much time and attention was given by these students to researching this life cycle and to creating illustrations and texts to reflect the complexity of the process.

With her NEP science class, Mrs. Emerson experienced many of the same frustrations experienced by Mrs. Morton. She found it difficult to explain even the most mundane kinds of things like how to fold and cut paper to make a particular project. It was impossible to move through activities quickly, to group students, and to have them move efficiently from task to task. Most of her energy was taken up with trivial matters rather than with the teaching of subject-matter concepts.

The following memo, written on a day in which the mainstream classes' star posters were hung around the room, captures some of the difficulties Mrs. Emerson encountered.

> Kids sit at black surfaced tables. 4 kids per table. Today star charts (8 feet long) are hung up around the room. Charts trace history of stars.
>
> Vicky passes out bags of crayons and has kids vote on the best star chart in the room. There is a problem in trying to communicate that she wants them to rip off a part of a paper and write their votes. Kids want to tear and fold the paper neatly which will ,of course, take too much time.
>
> Day's activity involves making of a chart on rockets. Kids are to fill out blanks on their worksheets. She uses her overhead to explain both the concepts and what goes into the blanks.
>
> The *force of gravity* holds the rockets and the *astronauts down* on the planet earth.
>
> The *action of the burning gases* causes the reaction of the rocket *lifting*. First the *rocket orbits* or circles the planet *earth*.
>
> Then it moves to the *moon* on its own *power* because an object in *motion* wants to *stay* in motion.
>
> Vicky uses an overhead projector to fill in blanks in a sample worksheet. As she fills in blanks she talks about the concept. For example she reaches for a large globe and spins a pencil around it to show what orbit means. She repeats, exaggerates, and uses objects to convey concepts of lifting, gravity, etc. It is not clear how well the kids get these concepts.
>
> Most of the activity then moves to actual making of posters. This is complicated and involves folding the paper in a particular way (she asks for my help), making lines with rulers that are passed out, cutting out filled- in worksheets to paste on the poster paper (scissors are also passed out) and finally

drawing figures of a rocket. Kids are told that this is exciting because they will get to color using a special silver crayon. These crayons are apparently new and considered to be a treat.

I helped in carrying out the activity, passed out scissors, rulers, crayons and collected same, and also helped kids to see what the final version of the poster should look like. It was clear that much had to be accomplished in 44 minutes, and that the focus of the lesson involved the making of the posters. My conclusion is that Vicky really needs and aide just to communicate to kids what needs to be done (fold paper, cut, color) and to pass out stuff.

I get the sense, however, that Vicky is really trying here.

(GV-Summary memo-10-21-91)

Like Mrs. Morton, Mrs. Emerson found herself intensely frustrated. She was a good teacher who loved science and who wanted to communicate her excitement to both her mainstream and her NEP students. However, as a monolingual, English-speaking teacher who did not even have a teacher aide in the room, she was at an extraordinary disadvantage. In her classroom, the students did not make loud or rude remarks. They sat quietly or worked on whatever task was given to them. The problem was that even the most trivial instructions were not understood. Youngsters misunderstood what to do, skipped over steps, confused their table mates, and often ended up quite frustrated themselves. In the case of the rocket poster activity, for example, what was focused on was the folding of the paper, the drawing of the lines on the paper, the cutting and pasting of the filled-in worksheets, and finally the coloring of the rocket itself.

These same kinds of frustrations were experienced by Justine Jackson in teaching math. As a special education teacher, she was very experienced in using manipulatives, in using illustrations, and in moving slowly through material. Unfortunately the NEP students (which included many of the unruly youngsters in Mrs. Morton's science class) misinterpreted Mrs. Jackson's kind and loving demeanor. Used to strict, no-nonsense teachers in Mexico who were quick to use even corporal punishment, they saw Mrs. Jackson as a nice woman who did not know how to control them. The situation was made even more complex by the fact that students were placed in the class according to their English ability rather than their mathematics background. Thus, students who barely knew their times tables were put in the same class with students who, in Mexico, had been ready to begin the study of algebra. Because of this, humor in the class centered around making fun of students who did not have a math background or around feeding the right answers in Spanish to less able students whey they were sent to the board. Mrs. Jackson pretended to be unaware of the Spanish undercurrent and did her best to move forward patiently with her teaching. She promised pop-corn parties, excursions, and other rewards to the students if they succeeded in being quiet.

What is interesting to note is that for those students who had a math background, instruction in English on areas that they knew well was indeed comprehensible. They could understand instruction on how to multiply by three digit numbers, for example, because they had already mastered these operations in their native language long before. The students who had no background in math, however, were clearly terrified of

appearing foolish before their peers and seldom responded to requests to participate in class.

The following class notes reflect class activities in Mrs. Jackson's sheltered math class:

> The class began finally at 10:54 even though the period started at 10:48. Teacher tells students to turn to a particular page in the text because she is going to correct the homework. Students call out smart remarks in Spanish and ridicule the teacher who does not understand any Spanish at all. Teacher ignores the behavior and continues to read out answers in English. Lets kids repeat them in Spanish. Homework check takes five minutes or more.
>
> 11:00 am—teacher begins lesson: multiplication by 3 digits. Teacher asks student to demonstrate a 3 digit problem. Kids at seats are doing nothing. Teacher had them put everything on the floor. Believes that they will concentrate if they have nothing to distract them. Leonor sits toward the back of room next to aide. She seems distracted but talks to no one. Javier very naughty here. Turns around almost constantly to talk to friend. Elisa does not really participate. She did not do her homework in class or begin it there. She just took it home.
>
> Leonor is called to come to the board and multiply by 1, but she refuses. Elisa goes to the board and does well. There are 15 boys and 8 girls in the class.
>
> From the responses being called out in Spanish by several boys, it is clear that they are quite sophisticated in math. One wonders why they are in this class.
>
> When students began their math homework, I got up and wandered around. Most kids were writing down all the problems across the page but not working them out. This is a device that makes them look busy. However, there was no room on their papers to show work, so teacher couldn't possibly tell where the mistakes might be for each kid. Perhaps it doesn't matter, though, because when they correct papers, she calls out answer and each kid corrects his own paper. On wonders whether really "sharp" kids realize they can put in the answers then.
>
> Before we left, Mrs. Jackson had me translate for a couple of kids. She commented that because of the language, it is the kids that really have the power.
>
> (GV-Project Log # 2, 10-17-91)

In comparison to Justine Jackson, Dorothy Thompson used her corpulent presence, her authoritative voice and her smattering of Spanish to teach students how to work with ancient Apple II computers in her NEP computer class. She normally attached an overhead display to a computer and demonstrated how students should work with particular software programs. There were a total of 20 Apple II's in the lab and one or two Macintoshes. In the NEP class, two students shared each of the 20 Apple II computers. The following summary memo captures the climate of Mrs. Thompson's room.

> I then went to Dorothy Thompson's room and she was teaching a new program today called Timeline. I first spent time translating three remaining timelines into English and checking to see whose were missing. All Spanish kids

are accounted for.[5] Teaching the new program was done with an overhead connected to a computer. She illustrated what would happen by calling for kids' birthdays. She then had them all begin to work. Most of them got the idea that they would press N for new and A for add a new event. Where they got confused was in answering the question WHEN (they weren't sure how to write in a date and were misspelling in English (Octover, agust). They also were not sure what to do in English when the question asked DESCRIBE THE EVENT. They seemed to do better when they were allowed to do so in Spanish. Many were confused also by the fact that they could not see everything that they were writing on the screen. Apparently the program has a compress feature that they did not know about.

Most kids eventually got to work, but it was hard for those kids that had a malfunctioning computer or those that shared a computer. This class can at least put them in contact with some English, but without some of the scaffolding to be able to say something in English, the tendency for them will be to write in Spanish. Not that this is all bad, in fact, for some kids, it just might help them with their overall literacy skills.

In terms of classroom management, Dorothy shouts, uses Spanish (mira, entiende? and so forth). Class does get noisy, but she eventually gets back in control of the situation. Kids like Salvador have probably found that they can ignore her directions and still figure out how the program works. It does take a lot of work from the teacher (today her young helper was there and I was helping too. The problem with the young helper is that he can't speak in Spanish to the kids or understand their questions.)

(GV-Summary memo- 11-4-91)

For Dorothy Thompson, teaching sheltered computers was an experience she enjoyed. Students were eager to learn and excited about working with the machines. For all of the sheltered teachers, however, the 1991-92 school year appeared to be very difficult. The challenge was exhausting, and there seemed to be few solutions. For the students, however, sitting in classes where they had the opportunity to hear English—even if it was not always comprehensible in the strictest sense of the word—was clearly much more valuable than being sent home at noon. In some cases, these sheltered classes presented opportunities for working with written language as well. Teachers, especially in the science classes, used controlled writing (fill-in the blanks, copying of patterns, adding information). Even though no particular attempt was made to develop these reading and writing skills by the content-area sheltered teachers, it is important to note that they were constrained by the kinds of materials available to them and by the kind of ESL program that they students were enrolled in. As will have been noted from the above description of the ESL program, the focus of ESL instruction was language form (grammar and vocabulary) and few opportunities were offered students to

[5] For this activity, the teacher required that each student write a timeline of his/her life in Spanish beginning with the year they were born, the year they started school, the year they started to read, etc. Students were then going to learn how to enter these timelines of their own life using the computer program.

develop their general academic listening comprehension abilities and overall reading and writing skills.

The ESL Program at Garden School

As the above discussion intended to make clear, the ESL program for NEP students at Garden School, although staffed by concerned and committed teachers, offered limited opportunities for broad-based English language development to newly arrived students. At school, outside of class time, for example, students had no access to English whatsoever. Because student groups segregated themselves, there was no contact between mainstream students (non-LEP students) and youngsters in the NEP /LEP sequence. Even in classes like PE., which combined members of both groups, students did not generally interact with one another. Consequently, opportunities for developing English language abilities in speaking, listening, reading, and writing were limited to the ESL and sheltered content classes themselves. Within the former, students were primarily offered instruction in grammar and vocabulary; and within the latter, they were offered (comprehensible?) English language focused on particular content areas.

For students whose entire lives were carried out in Spanish and who had very little access to English outside school, growth in English was slow and painful. For these students, Garden School offered a very limited English language acquisition context. They made little progress. Students, on the other hand, who had the opportunity of using English in contexts *outside* school or who had parents who already spoke some English, made considerable progress.

THE SECOND YEAR: ESL PROGRAMS AT THREE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS

During the second year of the study, two of the focal students (Elisa and Bernardo) were followed and studied at Garden School as originally planned. The two other focal students (Manolo and Lilian) were followed in two other area schools to which they had transferred. Even though following students at three different schools involved more time and effort than originally planned, it also provided the research team with the opportunity of studying the teaching of writing in two other ESL programs at the middle school level.

In September, 1992, when the second year of the study began, three of the four focal students (Elisa, Manolo, and Bernardo) were still attending Garden School. Lilian's family, however, had moved to another part of town, and, when the school year started, we discovered that she was attending Crenshaw School, another middle-school in the same Bay Area community.

What school personnel (and the research team) did not know at the beginning of the year, however, was that Manolo's family had also moved and was living in a neighboring community. Very soon after school began—indeed as soon as Mrs. Andrews (the senior ESL teacher at Garden) found out about the move and verified Manolo's new address—she actively worked to make certain that Manolo transferred out of the district quickly. Manolo's transfer to John F. Kennedy School (J.F.K.) was completed by October 6th.

Placement of Students at Garden School During the Second Year

All three of the students present at Garden at the beginning of the year were initially placed once again in NEP Core. Placement testing was carried out during the first week of September using both the IPT test and the Gates-Mcginity reading test. Mrs. Wallace pointed out to us that the reading test was utilized to provide information about the students' ability to read in English. The IPT test, as was pointed out above, measures oral language exclusively. This was problematic from the teachers' perspective because it resulted in exiting students from the ESL program before they had acquired appropriate reading and writing skills.

The scores obtained by the focal students on the Gates-Mcginity given in early September of the second year are listed below.

Name	Gates V	Grade Equivalent	Gates C	Grade Equivalent	Total	Grade Equivalent
Manolo	41	2.8	40	3.7+	81	3.6
Elisa	34	2.2	37	3.2	71	2.4
Bernardo	21	1.4	20	1.6	41	1.5

At Garden School, placements using the Gates-Mcginity test were made according to the following scale:

Score	Placement
1 to 1.9	NEP
2 to 2.8	LEP
2.9 to 3.6	Advanced LEP
3.7 or above	Sheltered Core (transition class)

Because of his scores, therefore, from September 7 to October 6 Manolo was placed in Advanced LEP with Mrs. Andrews. By comparison, Elisa—in spite of her scores—was kept in the NEP class until November. She was finally transferred to a LEP class—2 months and 2 weeks after the testing was conducted. The delay in Elisa's case seemed to involve Mrs. Wallace's judgment that Elisa should not be in the same class with her sister. Bernardo's placement, on the other hand, was straightforward. Because of his very low scores, he remained in the NEP class for the entire year.

The three youngsters began the school year with the following schedules:

Period	Manolo	Elisa	Bernardo
1	PE 7 & 8	P E 7 & 8	NEP Sheltered SS 6-8
2	Spanish I 7 & 8	NEP Core	NEP Core
3	Social Studies 7	NEP Core	NEP Core
4	Science 7	Science 7	Math Ave 7
5	Math Ave 7	Mixed Chorus 7-8	NEP Sheltered Science
6	Advanced LEP 6-7-8	NEP Home Arts	NEP Home Arts
7	Advanced LEP 6-8	Math Ave 8	PE 7 & 8

As will be noted, Manolo began the year in three regular or mainstream classes: science, social studies, and math. He also enrolled in beginning Spanish. Except for English, Manolo took all of his courses with mainstream, fluent English-speaking students taught by teachers who were not expected to modify their instruction to accommodate the English language limitations of ESL students. In part because of the abrupt change from "sheltered" classes to mainstream classes, Manolo appeared to experience some difficulties in both social studies and science before he left Garden school.

Even though she remained in the NEP Core, Elisa was also placed in mainstream science and math classes Elisa's scheduled changed, however, when she was moved from the NEP to the LEP sequence.

In contrast to Elisa and Manolo, Bernardo was placed in all NEP/ Sheltered classes except for math. Surprisingly, in spite of his very serious limitations in English, this youngster was placed in a math class that enrolled primarily mainstream students. Although he experienced serious difficulties, he remained in this class for the greater part of the year. We conjecture that students—such as Bernardo—were placed in mainstream math class because of the limited availability of teachers in the school who were willing to teach math exclusively to ESL students using "sheltered" techniques.

By November 6, 1992, Elisa schedule was changed, and she was moved out of the NEP Core into the LEP Core also taught by Mrs. Wallace. Her new schedule included the following classes:

Period	Elisa
1	LEP Science 6-7-8
2	Math Ave 8
3	P E 7-8
4	Mixed Chorus 7-8
5	LEP SS 6-8
6	LEP 6-7-8
7	LEP 6-7-8

Bernardo's schedule, on the other, was not changed until quite late in the academic year. He was moved out of the mainstream math class—in the third week of January—and put into a sheltered class designed for LEP students. He and another youngster were transferred in response to a written parental request, resulting in the following schedule:

Period	Bernardo
1	NEP Sheltered SS 6-8
2	NEP Core
3	NEP Core
4	NEP Sheltered Math
5	NEP Sheltered Science
6	NEP Home Arts
7	PE 7 & 8

Opportunities for Learning English During the Second Year

As compared to the first year when all focal students had little opportunity to hear English except from the teacher, during the second year these students were placed in classes in which many fluent English speakers were present. Because of this, they had the opportunity of receiving instruction in English intended for students who were native speakers of the language. As the following segment of teacher talk will make evident, such instruction often made extraordinary demands on youngsters whose English language instruction had not prepared them to comprehend academic discourse by processing language in real time. In the case of Elisa, given her level of proficiency, mainstream classes offered her much more access to English than she would have had if she had remained in exclusively sheltered classes. She made great progress in both her understanding and production of academic English.

For Bernardo, on the other hand, whose English language development was much more limited, his mainstream class was frustrating and discouraging. In class, he appeared to be attempting to use his previous knowledge of math to survive, but he came more discouraged as time went on. He did not understand the teacher's presentations, the explanations and instructions contained in his textbook, or the word problems that he was often expected to solve.

Classroom Language Sample—Mainstream Class
Period 4 Pre-Algebra/Mr. Ginsey—
Focal Student: Bernardo Salas

Side A 000-164

There are two types of fractions. Proper fractions. Proper. That is a Proper fraction. The number on top is smaller. The number on the bottom is bigger. That's called a proper fraction. Improper fraction.

(He's trying to take control of the class; students are talking and it is difficult to hear.) Will you all kind of hold on and hold all of your thoughts, then I don't have to...Juan. You won't understand this if you don't pay attention.
Improper fractions. Number on top is bigger than the number on the bottom. okay. Now, when the number on the top.

(Responding to a students comment) I know you know but just kind of hang on to your thoughts. Let's just review for a second. Joel page 38. Try to pay attention because this is very important.

Number on top is bigger than the number on the bottom. Improper. Improper fractions can be changed to what is called a mixed number. You can get the mixed number by dividing the top number by the bottom number. 5 divided by 2. 2; one half left over. That's called a mixed number.

Yesterday we started multiplying whole numbers by fractions; like this here. 5 times 1/9. We found that we put the whole number over a 1 and you just multiply. We saw in the picture that if you have 1/9th and you had five of those 1/9ths you had five ninths.

Karen. (She asks a question, Which one is called the denominator ?)
The bottom number is called the denominator. This one (pointing to the top number) is called the numerator.

Now you multiply a mixed number by a fraction. Do we know how to multiply a fraction by a fraction? But how do you multiply a mixed number by a fraction?

Jasmine. (First you add the denominators right?) No. Carol. (first you make the one and a half a mixed number.)

Not a mixed number; it already is a mixed number. (Student calls out, "You go for a common denominator") Not yet no that's adding and subtracting.
(Many students begin to call out answers)

Okay. you have to change the mixed number back into a fraction. Now you do that real simple. You change two and 1/2, which is a mixed number, back into an improper fraction. You multiply 2 times 2 is 4 plus one is five halves. So you can change an improper fraction to a mixed number or a mixed number to an improper fraction.

Got it. So we have 1 1/2 times 1/3 we're going to change the mixed number into an improper fraction by multiplying 2 times one is 2 plus 1 is 3/2 times. Well if you think, what is 1 and a half it's actually 3 halves, isn't it? So 1 and 1/2 is really 3 halves.

What I want you to do is to get out a sheet of paper (Students begin to move around and talk; he stops talking). All right, So remember when we do these exercises. You start, not at the oral exercises you start here. Everybody got that. Let's try number 2. Let's do a couple of these together.

In this particular example, the teacher explains concepts in English and assumes that all students can follow his explanation. He speaks rapidly, shifts between calling on students, answering students' questions, and explaining different aspects of the same concept.

For non-English speaking students, such classroom explanations present many challenges, especially if they do not have a strong background in the subject matter in question. Had Bernardo already studied and mastered improper fractions, he would have been able to follow the English presentation with little difficulty. However, in order to comprehend academic English as used in this particular explanation, Bernardo needed to have been taught how to process such language. He would have needed direct instruction that would have taught him how to:

continue to listen (resisting distractions—going past fatigue)
guess intelligently at meaning from all cues available
listen for known elements (words, phrases)
listen for cues within the discourse
listen for summary statements
attend to essential information
listen for gist
listen for particular details

Unfortunately, Bernardo had not received such instruction in his ESL classes. As was pointed out above, for the most part, beginning ESL students in Mrs. Wallace's class worked with vocabulary cards and studied isolated words or filled out worksheets at their tables. He had no experience, therefore, in processing rapid explanations intended for fluent native speakers.

By comparison, Bernardo appeared to be quite comfortable in his sheltered NEP science class. Taught by a teacher who was very experienced in using this approach, classroom language made fewer demands on students' ability to process language in real time. As will be noted in the sample included below, the teacher was aware of the language limitations of her students and therefore adjusted her language. She repeated, rephrased, used pictures to illustrate meaning, and drew from students' background knowledge in order to teach new concepts.

Classroom Language Sample—Mainstream Class

5th Period Sheltered Science/Mrs. Morton
Focal Student : Bernardo Salas

Side B 000-322

First I want you to look at the pictures. Don't worry about the words. I want to look at the picture. This is where I want you to look. I want you to look at this part. This whole thing. We're going to talk about this part. Is this the outside or the inside?

Students: inside.

Inside, okay. This is the inside of something; we have a word for that.
In the middle. How many of you have eaten an apple.
I don't know if you know this word or not but when you eat a whole apple, some might know this word, when you eat, eat ,eat the apple. Okay you bite and eat the apple. Finally when you finish you have this in the middle. (She's drawing the picture on the overhead.) Okay, you don't want to eat this part. This part we throw out.

Does anybody know what we call that part that's in the middle? You might. Somebody might know. Yuki, what do you call that? "Core."

Yes, we call this part of the apple, the core. It's in the middle. How many have heard of the word core?

Okay. If you have not heard, this is what we call a core. A core, Apple core. What's apple in Spanish? (Students call out) Manzana. Is there a word for core? (Students called out corazon) Do you have a word for the part in the middle?

Okay, well in English we have a word for the middle part, we call it the core. Now when we think of the earth this whole part, this whole thing, not just this little one including the bigger one, this whole part; we call that core. We call that the core.

Now, do you know what ice-cream is? (Students call out yes) Have you all had an ice-cream. Okay, have you eaten ice-cream in a scoop so it's round. Ice-cream, like in a cup, and we put a round scoop of ice-cream. Now, ice-cream is round and if you put it on the table and you don't eat it right away, what happens? The ice-cream melts. Okay, the outside will start to melt. The outside will go like this.(she simulates melting) But the inside still hard? The inside is hard but the outside is (students fill in: melting). Soft. Kind of like water now. Okay, now this whole part is like an ice-cream, but the outside part melting. Kind of like water. It's melting, but the inside it is hard. This is the core and this part in the middle is the ice-cream that's hard. This part is the ice-cream that is melting.

So the core has two parts. The core has two parts. (Student calls out the two parts) Right. Very good Jesus. The inside is hard, right here, because it's not melted. But the outside is melted. So like ice-cream, this is all melted but this part in the middle is hard. Okay, not melted. Now you look. So this is melted, melted.

This is...(Students: harder) hard, not melted. This whole thing, what do we call it? (Students: core.) Inner core. not yet core. This whole thing is called core. Now, scientist said, because the outside is melted the inner side is hard, we give it two names. (Students call out the names) Okay. Some people know. What do we call this? Inner core. We call it inner core. Okay, the inside one is called inner core. What about the outside one, the melted part, outer-core. Good some of you know these words.

During the second year, then, focal students at Garden School experienced mainstream courses for the first time. For all of them, taking classes in which they were expected to keep up with fluent-English-speaking students was a challenge. For Manolo, for example, being in a mainstream social studies class meant that he spent hours reading the textbook and completing homework. Since his ESL class had provided him with no experience in extensive reading, he was forced to work on developing reading skills by himself at the same time that he also attempted to learn subject matter. He knew little about American history, and his NEP social studies class the previous year had not been directed at filling in his many knowledge gaps. Manolo did not know what his peers had learned from years of having studied social studies in American schools. He did not recognize the names of the founding fathers; he had never heard of the Boston Tea Party; and he did not know even the basics about American government. Strong as his developing language skills were, he was discouraged because he was far behind his peers in many important ways.

Mainstream classes presented other difficulties as well. In Vicky Emerson's regular science class, for example, Manolo found himself in an innovative, hands-on class that required students to work in groups and to carry out a set of different exploratory activities (e.g., designing gliders on a computer, making timelines, measuring the speed at which paper airplanes fell to the ground). Student talk in each group centered around the particular task to be carried out but also involved a lot of social interaction. The group to which Manolo was assigned included two Euro-American young males—who were highly motivated and interested in science—and Manolo. Since Manolo was clearly very different from his peers, they treated him with thinly-disguised impatience. For the most part, they simply ignored him as they quickly moved to finish the task on which the entire group would be graded. Only when Ms. Emerson circulated and specifically asked Manolo a question or determined whether he too had had a turn using the computer, was Manolo included. Manolo had access to English, then, from native-speaking peers. This English, however, was not directed at him. He did not really interact with his fluent, English-speaking classmates.

Reading and writing were also a challenge for Elisa in her mainstream courses. This was especially the case in her math class where she was expected to write out her solutions to the "problem of the week" as well as to worksheets that required both sophisticated reading abilities and knowledge of subject matter. For example: on one occasion, Elisa was required to complete a worksheet for homework that involved doing fractions. The worksheet was designed so that if the students entered the correct answers as instructed on the sheet, the answers would form a star. However, the directions were complicated and confusing. Even though the worksheet was intended

to give students practice in reducing fractions to lowest terms, Elisa's energy was taken up with trying to figure out where to put the answers. Moreover, because her mastery of fractions was still developing, her answers were often not on the worksheet at all, and this confused her further. This type of frustration characterized many of Elisa's efforts to complete assignments. It was often the case that she spent long segments of time figuring out instructions on worksheets and less time working on the math dimensions of the assignments.

"Problems of the week" were even more difficult for Elisa. These problems—currently very much a part of new approaches to math being used in middle schools—require that students think about a word problem and then write out how they thought about the question, what they did to solve the problem, what solution they came to, and why they believe their solution was correct. A sample of such a problem is included below:

Math Homework Problem
Mrs. Hunter's Class
February 9, 1993

Imagine that you are talking to another student on the phone and that you want the student to draw a picture like the one you have here.

Hint: Write down what you would say to the student. Then check it by giving the directions you have written to someone to see how close they get to drawing the picture you want them to draw.

Write down the best directions you can come up with.

Since her entire experience in writing had involved controlled exercises in Mrs. Wallace's NEP class, Elisa had never produced writing of the type required in her math class. The first assignments of this type required large amounts of time for Elisa as well

as the teacher's willingness to grade on content and not on form. As the year progressed, however, Elisa learned by doing and became much more comfortable with writing of this type.

Continuing Instruction in NEP and LEP

Instruction in ESL within the NEP and LEP cores continued for both Elisa and Bernardo very much the way it had during the first year of the study. Mrs. Wallace continued to run a traditional class focused primarily on teaching the *New Horizons* curriculum. Basic English structures were her principal concern, and these appeared to be taught in small groups. All other class activities centered on words and word meanings. Whole-class teaching, for example, usually involved either playing *hang the spider* with current vocabulary words or question and answer interaction involving a random topic raised by Mrs. Wallace in order to focus on vocabulary. Interestingly enough, in order to participate in these classroom "conversations," it appeared to us that students were expected to know the vocabulary in question. It did not seem, to us that Mrs. Wallace limited these "lessons" to particular topics or themes that she had already focused on in class or that she really "taught" about the topics she was raising. She simply asked questions about whatever topic came to mind (e.g., memorial day, undertows at unknown beaches) and drew answers from the high NEP students in the class who were already familiar with the topic and could respond to the questions that she asked of the whole class. In general only three to four students actually participated in these interactions.

Attention to writing involved only controlled composition, and no attention was giving to the teaching of reading skills. When reading took place in the classroom it was limited to a full-class reading of the weekly reader with a focus on identifying unfamiliar words. No instruction, for example, was given in reading silently for gist, identifying details, skimming, scanning, and the like. In general, students read independently from the *Barnell-Loft* series and filled out answer sheets for each story read. For the most part, reading passages in these readers are only one or two pages in length and do not result in students developing extensive reading skills.

As was the case during year one of the study, there was little communication between the ESL teachers, the sheltered teachers, and the mainstream teachers. ESL teachers, especially Mrs. Wallace, rejected the idea that her classes should provide support for the demands made by other classes. She saw herself as teaching *the language*, following a curriculum that viewed language learning as moving from small bits and pieces of language (vocabulary and structures) to larger bits and pieces of language (sentences and longer structures). She had no sense of what students needed to be able to do with English in order to survive and achieve in mainstream classes. From her perspective, a good ESL student was one who completed her assignments on vocabulary or particular structures, who passed her quizzes, and who behaved in class. She felt strongly, that no matter how well students might actually do in mainstream subject matter classes, that they should not be excited from the ESL track if they had not completed the entire ESL sequence or been officially exited from the program. At the end of the year, these views presented serious problems for Elisa when she sought Mrs. Wallace's recommendation to enter the low-track regular (non-ESL) English classes at the high school level. In order to sign up for high school courses when they completed

the eighth grade, students enrolled in ESL sequences at the middle school needed their teachers' recommendation. In Elisa's case, Mrs. Wallace refused to recommend entry into the regular mainstream English sequence because "she had not been exited from ESL at Garden School."

The ESL Program at Crenshaw School

Crenshaw School, the school to which Lilian transferred during the second year is located in the same community in which Garden School is located. However, it is part of a different school district, and it appears to serve a section of the city in which few recent immigrants have taken up residence.

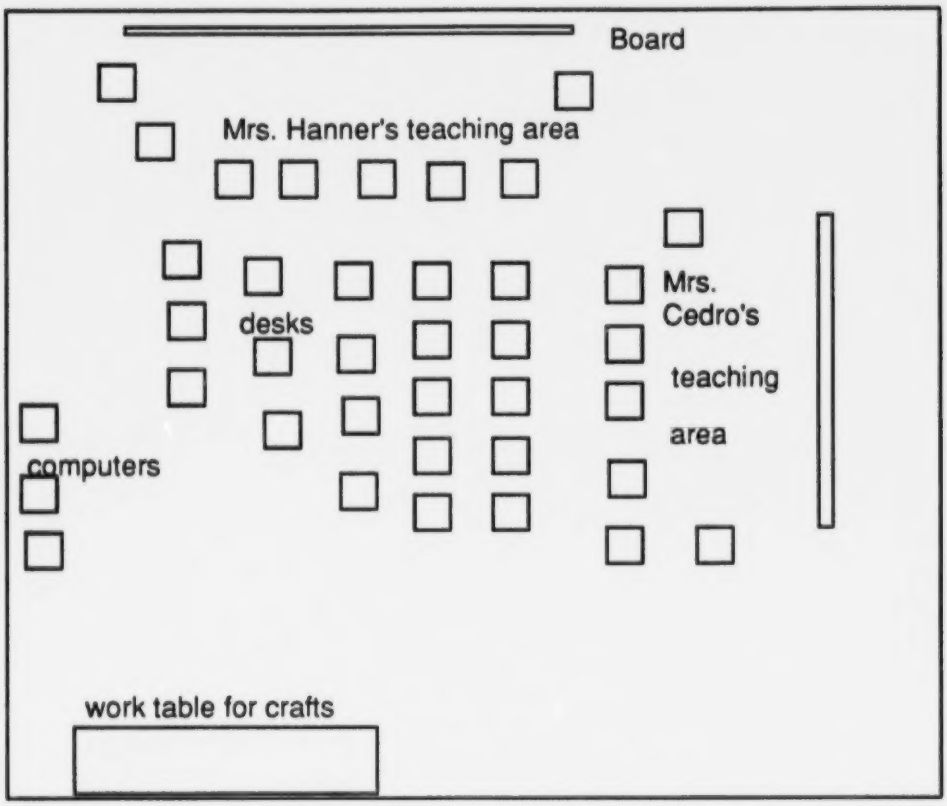
The school itself sits on a quiet street among modest tract houses. It is in good repair and freshly painted gray, and the playing fields behind it are grassy and well tended.

During the 1992-93 school year, there were few ESL students at Crenshaw. As opposed to Garden School, where the population of newly arrived Latino student was growing and where two teachers teach three different levels of ESL, at Crenshaw there was a single Newcomer Classroom. All non-English or limited-English-speaking students in the school enrolled in grades 5 through 8 (about 25 students) were placed in the Newcomer Classroom. Lilian, therefore—who was an attractive, fully adolescent eighth grader during the second year of the study—was placed in the same classroom with very small fifth graders who still behaved like little children.

In general, Newcomer programs such as the program at Crenshaw have as their goal providing students with a safe environment in which they can learn English. It is expected that students placed in such programs will move quickly into regular placements after a period of intensive English language instruction. At Crenshaw School, however, mainstreaming did not take place as quickly as the school might have wanted. We were told that, ordinarily, Asian students came into the Newcomer program and stayed only one year before they were placed in regular mainstream classes. Latino students, on the other hand, generally stayed in the Newcomer class for two and even three years. Some students were never officially exited from the program. What this meant is that eighth graders who spent several years in the program and who were not mainstreamed generally left Crenshaw and were often placed in the beginning courses of the ESL sequence at the high school level.

The teacher in charge of the Newcomer class at Crenshaw during the second year of the study was Greta Hanner a woman of Scandinavian background who had herself been an ESL student in this country. A small blond woman, Mrs. Hanner, appeared to be deeply committed to her students and to providing a safe and pleasant environment. She was assisted by a teacher's aide, Mrs. Bertha Cedro, a Mexican woman of Chinese extraction.

The Newcomer classroom was a pleasant, well lighted place. As the diagram below makes clear, teaching areas were laid out so that both Mrs. Hanner and Mrs. Cedro had separate teaching areas. Student desks were placed so that there was a generous amount of room between students. During the 1992-93 school year, there were 25 students in the Newcomer classroom.



The daily schedule for the class covered the following time periods and curriculum areas:

Period	Curriculum Area
1	Spelling
2	Language/ Reading
3	P.E.
4	Math
5	Math tutoring
6	Crafts
7	Crafts

Each day began with the lowest students working with Mrs. Cedro on spelling and then on language and reading. This group sat in Mrs. Cedro's teaching area where they generally worked with sentences and words. The list of vocabulary words were written on Mrs. Cedro's board and students were asked to make up sentences using these particular words. Each sentence volunteered by students was written on the board with appropriate modifications and corrections. For example, when a child volunteered the sentence, "The moon is the color yellow," Mrs. Cedro modified it and wrote, "The moon is yellow."

Sentences generated during these activities included:

The sandwich is for lunch.
The seven is little.
The dog is yellow and orange.
The seal is black.
The seesaw goes up and down.

From time to time, Mrs. Cedro would use Spanish to clarify a particular meaning or concept. She did so even though two students in the group were Vietnamese. Once all sentences were written on the board, students copied the sentences into their notebooks.

During the first and second period, the second lowest group worked with Mrs. Hanner in her teaching area on both spelling and language/reading. Students in the third or highest group remained at their desks working on other activities until it was their turn them to work with Mrs. Hammer.

During the time devoted to spelling, Mrs. Hanner, like Mrs. Cedro, elicited sentences from her students. These sentences were also based on a list of words placed prominently on the front board. On one occasion, for example, this list included: *hold, only, even, me , we ,open, both, before.* The sentences generated by the students and written by Mrs. Hanner on the board, were simple sentences such as the following:

Lilian has only one dollar.
I don't even have a penny.
My dad is with me.

The Teaching of Reading

The teaching of reading in the Newcomer classroom centered around a set of elementary basal readers. Students in the middle group, the group within which our focal student Lilian was placed, for example, were reading a second grade basal.

Instruction in reading took the following form. The group to be instructed sat in the appropriate group teaching area. The teacher—either Mrs. Hanner or Mrs. Cedro—called on students to read aloud from the class text while the other students followed along. Occasionally the teacher would read aloud for a few minutes.

When listening to students read, Mrs. Hanner generally corrected only blatant errors in pronunciation and focused on the meaning of the story. Because the elementary school readers were somewhat infantile for adolescent students, however, the teachers had to struggle to keep students focused on the stories recounting the escapades of little bears and other such creatures. She would ask questions at key points in the story asking students to recall a particular event or detail in the story.

In addition to the basal series of texts, Mrs. Hanner also utilized. *Extra*, a school magazine published by Scholastic. These materials, however, were used only with the highest group in the class.

Reading instruction, then, focused on reading stories intended for very young native, English-speaking students. It made the assumption that ESL students needed to learn how to read in English by reading texts used by young readers. Except for the high group, students in the Newcomer class did not read any materials that in any way resembled the kinds of texts that they might encounter in regular mainstream classes.

Like the students at Garden School, students in the ESL or Newcomer program at Crenshaw received no instruction in reading for gist, guessing details from context, skimming, scanning, etc. Additionally, students at Crenshaw were limited to reading narratives.

The Teaching of Writing

Instruction in writing was also very limited. For the most part, students copied sentences from the board, filled in blanks in sentences, and copied long lists of words in English which they then translated into Spanish. The only activity observed during the entire school year involving even controlled writing involved responding to a list of questions about the reading, for which they composed answers. For one such activity, for example, students copied questions from the board and produced answers on their papers. The teacher was careful to provide the following model of what student papers should look like.

Name	Reading
Date	Period 2
(skip a line)	
Buzzy Bear and the Rainbow	
1. What did Buzzy Bear see in the sky?	

The teacher provided a model form for students' answers:

Buzzy Bear saw _____.

She also provided hints to help them remember to use the appropriate verb tense:

Today I see, yesterday I saw.

It is interesting to note that everything written on the board was written in block letters. Neither of the two teachers used cursive.

The Teaching of Other Subject Matter

In the Newcomer classroom, students did not have access to the regular curriculum. They did not, for example, have a class in science or in social studies. They did, however, receive individualized math instruction from both Mrs. Hanner and Mrs. Cedro.

During the two periods of the day designated as math and math tutorial, students sat at their desks and worked on math at the level that had been found to be appropriate for them. One student, then, might be working on times tables while another was working on converting fractions to lowest terms. Students used different texts and/or were on different pages of the same text. Teachers circulated among the

students and responded to questions as they arose, as students needed help or clarification. The advantage of using this method for teaching mathematics was that Latino students whose English was still quite weak could receive instructions and explanations in Spanish from Mrs. Cedro. In general, this approach seemed to work well. Since explanations were tailored to their questions, students were able to proceed with their work as soon as their questions were answered. They could also work at their appropriate math level.

Progress Made by Lilian at Crenshaw

At Crenshaw, Lilian made little progress in terms of her English-language proficiency. As compared to Bernardo at Garden School, who at least had one of his classes with mainstream students, Lilian had very limited access to English. In the Newcomer classroom, most student-to-student interaction took place in Spanish. The presence of the Spanish-speaking aide—while greatly beneficial to students in many respects—also resulted in students speaking less English in the classroom—especially during the two math periods when they called upon Mrs. Cedro to explain or clarify particularly difficult concepts.

As will be reflected in the two language assessments carried out during the second year of the study, Lilian progressed little in her productive abilities in English. At the end of the study she spoke a very limited amount of English, and she was unable to move beyond the novice low level in writing. In terms of receptive skills, her listening comprehension abilities seemed to have improved greatly. Her reading abilities reflected the limits of the instruction she received both at Garden School and in the Newcomer program.

The ESL Program at J.F.K. School

J.F.K. School, the school to which Manolo transferred in October, 1992 is located in an affluent community in the Bay Area that has the reputation of having outstanding schools. J.F.K. is one of two middle schools in a city in which the ethnic-minority population (African-American and Latino) is less than 5 percent. The ESL program at J.F.K. school, then, was designed and implemented, not for newly arrived working-class immigrants of Latino background, but rather for children of professionals. Typically, ESL classes at J.F.K. enroll one or two students of Latino background and many students of European, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Scandinavian, and Israeli backgrounds. During the year of the study, the school had experienced an influx of Russian children of Jewish background.

Manolo transferred to a middle school that was very unlike Garden School in its philosophy toward ESL students. At J.F.K., non-English-speaking students were considered to be bright and well educated and suffering from the temporary handicap of not knowing English. ESL classes were designed to help students develop the kinds of academic language skills that they would need in order to succeed in the mainstream curriculum as soon as possible. Students—who were often the children of distinguished scientists—were considered to be college bound by school personnel in general. ESL was seen as a necessary support sequence for students who were immediately enrolled in a variety of mainstream courses as well. For those who required such help, individual

tutors were available who could accompany students to class in order to help them cope with all-English mainstream instruction.

What was taken for granted at J.F.K. was that ESL students were eager to learn, that they had been good students in their own countries, and that they had mainstream, middle-class views about education. The isolation of ESL students that was present at Garden School did not take place at J.F.K.. Students interacted mainly with each other to be sure, but they interacted primarily in English. Moreover, mainstream students seemed comfortable with limited-English-speaking students and even with the accompanying tutors who took notes for newly arrived youngsters.

English language instruction for even beginning ESL students was designed to move them rapidly in their English language development. The beginning ESL teacher, for example, deliberately planned assignments that required students to interview their fluent English-speaking schoolmates about a variety of topics. This same class included a unit on the exploration of the new world which required that students learn about the early American explorers as well as sharpen their listening, note-taking, and reporting skills. As opposed to focusing exclusively on structures and vocabulary, beginning ESL at J.F.K. sought to develop students listening, reading, writing, and speaking skills for academic purposes. Rather than a bottom-up approach to language teaching, the program reflected a belief that students could be taught to draw meaning from both oral language and texts even if they did not understand every element of the discourse in question.

Manolo at J.F.K.

Obtaining permission to follow Manolo at J.F.K. school was not simple. As might be expected, school personnel wanted to make certain that Manolo still wanted to be a part of the study. They consulted with Manolo's parents and with Manolo quite extensively. Unfortunately, these procedures led to Manolo's feeling singled out in a new context among new people. The result was that, even though Manolo finally agreed to continue in the study, he was much less cooperative than he had been at Garden School. We were limited to observing his classes and to making copies of those materials he produced in class that his teachers were willing to share with us. During the school year, we had little personal contact with Manolo, and, in observing all of his classes, we made certain that he did not feel conspicuous or singled out. When he stated that he was not willing to have his English language development assessed by the research team during the second year, we did not press him further. What this meant is that we have no second year language assessment data for Manolo that parallels the data collected on his language development during the first year.

In spite of these limitations, however, we *were* able to observe Manolo and to get a good sense of his English language development from his performance in class. In the ESL class, in particular, we were able to get an excellent sense of the development of his English writing abilities by making photocopies of two journals produced during the academic year as well as other class projects and materials.

During the first semester of the 1992-93 school year Manolo's schedule included the following classes:

Period	Subject
1	Computers
2	Science
3	Math
4	Creative Writing
5	PE
6	ELD
7	ELD

During the second semester, his schedule changed as follows:

Period	Subject
1	Adolescent skills
2	keyboarding
3	Math
4	PE
5	Industrial technology
6	ELD
7	ELD

The ESL Class at J.F.K.

The ESL or ELD (English language development) class into which Manolo was placed at J.F.K. was an advanced 7-8 class taught by Pamela Samuels. Mrs. Samuels, also a mainstream English teacher at J.F.K., was an experienced professional whose every gesture reflected a profound respect for her students. In talking about her class, she stated that her goal in teaching the advanced ELD in middle school is to mainstream students *before* they get into high school. She added that in many cases, she worked hard to place students in her own regular mainstream English classes so that they might make the transition more easily.

The ELD class itself, covered some of the elements of the core curriculum (e.g. reading Tom Sawyer), traditional English grammar (e.g., study of time clauses, use of the present progressive, punctuation), and writing. Each class, began with a segment of about ten minutes in which students wrote in their journals in response to a teacher prompt. Mrs. Samuels generally talked for a few minutes as students prepared to write in their journals and suggested ways in which students might respond. For example, on one occasion students were asked to write in their journals about valentines day. Mrs. Samuels made the following suggestions:

> **043** Please think about one person, tell what that relationship is, and why that person is special to you. I'd like you to think of someone who is special to you. When we talk about valentines often we think about someone of the opposite sex. But if you go to the store and look, there are valentines for friends, for relatives, for teachers. My father always sent me a valentine. Think about who you might send a valentines to. Who is special to you. Write down something about why that person is special.

After, prompting students, Mrs. Samuels generally allowed students to work for five to ten minutes and then collected journals. During the week, she responded to what students had written as appropriate. Often students used preliminary thoughts written in their journals as starting points for longer assignments.

Much attention was given by Mrs. Samuels to the writing of several long papers on various topics. These papers were written over a period of time and went through several drafts including a draft prepared in response to writing conferences. During the spring of 1992-93, Mrs. Samuels taught students how to write a paper that would speculate about an effect. This type of paper was one of the CAP writing tasks on which mainstream eighth graders would be tested, and she believed that it was also important for ESL students to learn how to write such a paper.

Mrs. Samuels began work on the speculative paper by explaining what the students would write about and how they would organize their paper. She selected as a title for their papers "A Decade of Difference." She then explained that the paper would have three parts by showing an overhead containing the following segments:

A Decade of Difference

So many things can happen in 10 years. Often ten years can bring positive changes; ten years can also result in differences and negative situations.

In 1983, I was ____ years old and I _____.

(Here's where you will use the paragraph you already wrote. Some things may need to be changed.)

Today in 1993, I am ___ years old and _____.

(Here's where you'll talk about yourself today and the changes that have occurred to you. You may have had some real family changes, new babies, weddings, divorces.)

I can only guess what life will be like in ten years, but I do have a drew for 2003. If my dream comes true in 2003, I will _____

(There should be some detail her. It should be about what you will do. This is where you will put in your paragraph about what you hope will happen.)

If my dream comes true; there will be both positive and negative effects.

negative effects

positive effects

Conclusion

Students worked on this paper for a period of about four weeks. During that time, journal writing focused them on thinking about the paragraphs they would include in the speculative paper. On one occasion, for example, Mrs. Samuels prompted the students as follows:

> **173** Remember I asked you to think about who you are right now. Where you live. Who you live with. What you like to do. Who you live with. What you like to do. What you're good at. What makes you happy. What makes you sad. Think for just a minute right now, just sit there and be aware of your body. Pencils down. Don't answer just think. (She makes them aware of different parts of their bodies and the sensations.) Pretend you're in that 1983 body. (She reminds them

not to answer questions but to think.) What can it to and what it can't do. Pencils down.

Now come back to the 1993 body. Think about this body Think about the changes in your body. Think about the changes in your ability. 10 years is called a decade. Think about the difference from then and now. Ask your family about when you were 3 years old.

Let's move forward to 2003. Just the brain guys, just the brain. (Students are getting excited). 2003. I wonder what you'll be wearing. Mouths quiet, just brains. What will you be reading about this country; your country. I wonder who will be President. She's out there. (Male students most stunned by the statement). New things in your homes. The kinds of jobs you will have ten years from now. I wonder what you will have done. And that is what we are getting ready to write about.

On this particular occasion, after hearing this general reminder and overview (which included a lot of rich English focusing on the topic of interest) students were then asked to cluster ideas about their 1993 bodies and to share these clusters with partners.

Many other activities were carried out during the course of writing the speculative paper. These included writing of first drafts, participating in writing conference with the teacher and other adults (including Valdés), sharing drafts with fellow students, and revising and preparing the final draft which was to be graded by the teacher.

As will be noted, in teaching ESL students to write a challenging paper, Mrs. Samuels used a combination of strategies. She gave students a general scaffold or structure for the paper as a whole and thereby taught a great deal about organization. She also prompted students to think and to write spontaneously about themselves and their lives, and she showed them how to use initial clustering techniques and note taking to move to the writing of a first draft. She emphasized the steps in the writing process and used both writing conferences and peer response groups. She encouraged students to take responsibility for improving their writing in response to both peer and teacher response.

As compared to both Mrs. Wallace and Mrs. Hanner, Mrs. Samuels did not believe that teaching ESL involved primarily teaching structures. She pushed students to use their English proficiencies, limited though they might still be, to write about real experiences and to express genuine thoughts. She adapted a process approach to writing so that students, not totally familiar with the conventions of English writing, might learn how to organize their writing in ways in which they would be expected to do so in mainstream classes.

In addition to teaching writing in her class, Mrs. Samuels also covered the novel *Tom Sawyer*. Students were expected to read segments of the work individually, but generally, the novel was read in class with students taking the part of different characters and reading their "lines" aloud. Before beginning the reading, Mrs. Samuels would recall the action in the story and would attempt to interest students in what might happen next. As students read, she frequently called attention to particular lexical items that might be confusing (e.g., *ferry* vs. *fairy*). She also often provided important bits of cultural background knowledge that students would not know (e.g., facts about the Mississippi River, facts about river boats and rafts).

A segment of the ELD two-period core also included social studies. For this segment of the class, Mrs. Samuels used a variety of approaches also focusing on developing both an understanding of the content and the development of English language skills. During the first semester, for example, the class focused on the study of different areas of the world. Guest speakers were invited to speak to the class, and students were expected to take notes from these presentations and to write summaries of what they had heard. They also read about these countries and studied some aspects of their artistic production.

During the second semester, the class focused on United States history and used the text *We the People*. The teacher used a number of different strategies for helping students to read the class text and to remember key facts. One strategy involved students' using a teacher-prepared checklist to focus their reading. Other approaches involved teaching students how to use chapter questions to find facts in the text, how to underline key information, how to skim and scan, and how to talk about information that they found in the text. Frequently, students were asked to read particular segments of the text and to share with the class "something that they should remember."

Mrs. Samuels also included a number of American classics in her teaching. During the second semester, for example, students read "Casey at the Bat." The teacher took the opportunity of teaching about American culture including baseball, how it works, how it is played, and the fact that it is known as the great American past time.

In sum, the ESL class in which Manolo enrolled at J.F.K. school was a master class. The teacher was understood both the demands of mainstream classes as well as what she needed to do to help students develop the linguistic resources to succeed academically in such classes. Moreover, because she worked in setting where lack of English-background was not assumed to be indicative of innate talent or ability, Mrs. Samuels saw her students as intelligent and talented and capable of learning both subject matter and language. Mrs. Samuels also understood the importance of providing students with important cultural information. She considered it to be her job to teach not just vocabulary, but how words were used, what they meant, and how they mirrored traditions and ways of thinking about the world in this country.

The Teaching of Other Subject Matter at J.F.K.

Outside of the ESL classes, all other classes at J.F.K. were mainstream, that is, they were designed for fluent or native English-speaking students. Manolo' science class, for example, included both explanations and hands-on group work, report writing, and multiple-choice tests. Manolo' math class reflected the new thinking in math instruction and involved students in hypothesizing, problem solving, and talking about problem solving. Computation was generally considered secondary, and students were encouraged to use calculators in class. The creative-writing class was relaxed and supportive, and the young teacher encouraged students to experiment and be creative with language.

Progress Made by Manolo at J.F.K.

Contrary to what was expected, Manolo was not uniformly successful at J.F.K.. Whereas at Garden School, Manolo had been the best student in his original NEP group,

at J.F.K. he was almost at the bottom. He had neither the class nor the background advantages of his peers whose parents were college graduates and professionals.

In some classes, Manolo did well. His science teacher, for example, thought highly of him and considered him to be doing average work. His math teacher, on the other hand, immediately became concerned about Manolo and even asked Valdés if he was disabled in his own language. In her math class, Manolo appeared disinterested and distracted and seemed unable to engage in problem solving activities, in writing out the problem the week, etc.

The creative writing teacher was more tolerant. Even though she had not worked with limited-English-speaking students, she expected that Manolo could develop his own voice. She shared with us two of his writing assignments (a comic-book like narrative and an essay on Mexican historical figures) which she graded as acceptable. She was clearly uncertain about how to respond to the language itself.

Overall, then, at J.F.K. Manolo had almost constant access to English, and he had a superb ESL teacher and class. On the other hand, at J.F.K., Manolo was not one of the best and the brightest. He was one of the few Mexican students in the school and he did not have the home advantages of many of his peers. Baffled by the tremendous jump that his math class took, for example, he lost confidence in his abilities. His English continued to develop, but lacking background in problem solving and in mathematics communication, he appeared to be one of the most limited students in his class. For the most part, Manolo's problem was not language. It involved being 13, being in a new school, having to make new friends—none of whom even shared his language—and discovering that he was not quite as good as he had thought himself to be at Garden.

The ESL Experience at Three Different Schools

The experience for limited-English-speaking students was very different at the three middle schools that we visited during the second year. At Garden School, the focal students remained in traditional ESL classes that continued to focus on bits an pieces of language. Student that were placed in mainstream classes (including Elisa) experienced some difficulties when confronted with demands for which they had not been prepared. Simply put, their ESL program did not provide support for the kinds of demands that regular classes would make on them.

At Crenshaw, our one focal student, Lilian, experienced almost total isolation form the rest of the school. She too received traditional instruction in English that focused primarily on syntax and vocabulary. The program did not focus on developing either her existing Spanish reading abilities or on developing new skills in writing English. The self-contained classroom, while warm and supportive, prepared students primarily for more ESL at the high school level.

The program at J.F.K. was quite different. Students were considered to be college bound and instruction was directed at helping them acquire academic language skills as soon as possible. Teachers viewed the lack of English language abilities as a temporary condition that students would soon move beyond.

THE ASSESSMENT OF STUDENTS' LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

In order to trace students English language development over the two year period of the study, a total of four English language assessments and one Spanish language assessment were carried out. As was pointed out in Section I of this report, these assessments focused on students' existing reading and writing abilities in Spanish and on their developing functional abilities in English. During the 1991-92 school year, assessments were carried out during the fall and spring semesters in early November and in late May.

In this section, the results of the assessment procedures that were carried out the first year of the study will be presented and discussed, and conclusions about student's progress will be offered. Material will be presented for the following students:

Name	Background	English Proficiency- Sept. 1991	Assessments Completed
Lilian Duque	From a rural area near Guadalajara Mexico. Completed fifth grade in Mexico.	No understanding of English	Spanish Assessment Nov. 1991 English Assessment I Nov., 1991 English Assessment 2 May, 1992 English Assessment 3 Dec., 1992 English Assessment 4 May, 1993
Manolo Fuentes	In the U.S. three months. Attended secundaria in Mexico City. Could describe classes in great detail.	Understood a very limited amount of English.	Spanish Assessment Nov. 1991 English Assessment I Nov., 1991 English Assessment 2 May, 1992 No assessment during year 2

Elisa Lara	From Honduras. Completed fifth grade. Could list all subjects she studied the previous year.	No understanding of English Mother has been here several years and speaks English.	Spanish Assessment Nov. 1991 English Assessment I Nov., 1991 English Assessment 2 May, 1992 English Assessment 3 Dec. ,1992 English Assessment 4 May, 1993
Leonor Mata[6]	In the United States less than a year. From a rural area of Michoacán, Mexico. Very little formal schooling.	No understanding of English.	Spanish Assessment Nov. 1991 English Assessment I Nov., 1991
Bernardo Salas[7]	Arrived in January 1992 from Cuernavaca, Mexico. Was enrolled in the first year of secundaria in Mexico.	No understanding of English	Spanish Assessment Jan. 1992 English Assessment 2 May, 1992 English Assessment 3 Dec., 1992 English Assessment 4 May, 1993

It is important to note, however, that the data obtained by the formal language assessment procedures were used along with observational data carried out in the classroom to develop a profile for each of the focal students at different points in the two-year period.

The Spanish Language Assessment Process

Before assessing students English language proficiency, we assessed students' reading and writing abilities in Spanish. Manolo, Elisa, Lilian and Leonor were assessed in November, 1991, and Bernardo was assessed soon after he arrived in January, 1992.

The following procedures were used for this purpose:

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[6] Leonor returned to Mexico in December of the 91-92 school year. Data were gathered on this student during the first three months of the study, and she was included in the first language assessment.

[7] Bernardo entered Garden School in January of the 91-92 school year. He was chosen as the fourth focal subject. His English language proficiency was assessed only once during the 1991-92 school year.

First Language Literacy Skills Assessment

The purpose of this assessment is to get an idea of how well kids read and write in their first language.

Part 1—Reading
Instructions to Interviewer:

Offer student a selection of different materials in the first language. (3 or 4 school-like books, a magazine, and a newspaper). Ask the student to choose one of the materials and to read from it. (Pick out a selection from each book in advance for this purpose.)

Have student read silently unless he prefers to do so out loud.
When he/she is finished, ask questions—both literal and perhaps inferential—that you have prepared on the particular reading. Record this interaction.

Ask the student why he/she chose the particular reading material.

Part 2—Writing (2 tasks)

This task should parallel what student did in English writing. Have him/her write on the same topic in Spanish that he wrote on before in English.

Reading Abilities

All five students with whom these procedures were used were literate in Spanish. Manolo, Elisa, and Bernardo, for example, picked out a well-illustrated Spanish language text book at the sixth grade level and proceeded to read aloud confidently. Both students responded to literal comprehension questions, but seemed more hesitant in responding to inferential questions about the texts selected. Lilian and Leonor, on the other hand, chose a third grade text and hesitated before selecting a specific passage. Leonor sounded out each word aloud slowly but could respond to general literal questions about what she read. Lilian was much more confident than Leonor. Like Leonor, Lilian also sounded out words that she did not know, but appeared to be able to read at the phrase and sentence levels as well. She easily responded to literal comprehension questions also.

Writing Abilities

Students were asked to write a page or so about themselves. All five of the students were able to complete the task, but it was clear that writing abilities varied widely. The texts produced by the focal students are included below along with an analysis of their features and characteristics.

Elisa Lara

In response to our request that she write about herself under the general title *Yo*, Elisa produced the following text:

Line nos.	Spanish Composition: Elisa Lara[8]
1	Conposición a Elisa Lara
2	Yo soy Elisa Lara soy muy buena para cocinar
3	y mi abi favorito es cantar soy trigueña de pelo negro y
4	indio soy de ojos cafe oscuros y tengo 12
5	años cuando este grande me gustaria peinar y pintar
6	a las artistas yo respeto a mi mamá y a toda, mi
7	familia Mi abuelita me enseño a respetar y amar a
8	mi familia y me gusta ~~de y me~~ respetarlos
9	heso es muy bueno niños que no respetan a sus
10	padres ~~no ses lo respeta a~~ es que no se le a
11	respetado a el yo respetó porque me respetan
12	Yo soy Elisa Lara y me gusta ~~de~~ el ingles
13	y yo voy a aprender ingles para poderme superar
14	en esté paiz.

Free translation of Spanish Original
I am Elisa Lara I am very good at cooking and my favorite hobby is singing I'm dark skinned with black and Indian hair I have dark brown eyes and I am twelve years old when I grow up I would like to comb and paint actresses I respect my mother and all, my family My grandmother taught me to respect and love my family and I like to respect them that is very good children that don't respect their parents is that he had not been respected I respect because I am respected I am Elisa Lara and I like English and I am going to learn English so I can get ahead in this country

Analysis

In writing a personal description of herself, Elisa wrote a total of twelve sentences. In terms of form, Elisa's writing reflected minimal attention to capitalization and punctuation. She did not use capitals, periods, and commas conventionally. Overall, however, her spelling is quite normative, and, except for *paiz* (país), *heso* (eso), *a* [line 9] (ha), her only other misspellings involve the use of the written accent. Elisa used accent marks appropriately on her own last name, on *conposición* (sic) [line 0] and on the word *mamá*. She used these marks inappropriately in *respetó* [line 10] and in *esté* [line 13]. She also failed to use accent marks in *café, esté* [line 4], *gustaría, enseñó,* and *inglés*.

In terms of content, Elisa does indeed provide some of the information expected in a piece of writing on the topic in question. Indeed a sentence-by sentence (rather than a line-by-line) analysis of Elisa's piece reveals the following structure:

[8] This text is laid out exactly as written by the student.

Function	Sentence
Introduction	Yo soy Elisa Lara
Describes interests and hobbies	soy muy buena para cocinar y mi abi favorito es cantar
Provides physical description	soy trigueña de pelo negro y indio
Provides physical description and gives age	soy de ojos cafe oscuros y tengo 12 años
Gives information about future plans	cuando este grande me gustaria peinar y pintar a las artistas
Provides information about the kind of person that she is	yo respeto a mi mamá y a toda, mi familia
Credits her grandmother for teaching her to be respectful	Mi abuelita me enseño a respetar y amar a mi familia y me gusta ~~de y me~~ respetarlos
Gives opinion about virtues of being respectful	heso es muy bueno
Gives opinion about why some children are not respectful	niños que no respetan a sus padres ~~no ses lo respeta a~~ es que no se le a respetado a el
Summarizes argument about why children are respectful and describes herself	yo respetó porque me respetan
Repeats information as a conclusion adds new information about her attitude toward English	Yo soy Elisa Lara y me gusta ~~de~~el ingles
Concludes with statement about English and its role in her life	y yo voy a aprender ingles para poderme superar en esté paiz.

At several levels, Elisa did indeed fulfill the assignment. She did write about herself, and she did provide details about her physical appearance, her interests, and her future plans. Relationships, however, between ideas and information are not well established. Connections and transitions are lacking, and some information is incomplete or undeveloped.

Overall, however,—especially given the fact that writing or *redacción* was not taught in Elisa's school—she did quite well. Mechanically (except for punctuation), Elisa's writing is quite competent. In terms of content, Elisa's text reflects a view about what a good piece of writing should include that is quite common among Hispanophones. This view holds that writing is not trivial and that it should attempt to address philosophical and moral issues. In Elisa's composition, her embedded discussion about *respeto* is a manifestation of this tendency.

Bernardo Salas

Bernardo's response to our assignment which he completed a few days after he arrived at Garden School was also quite sophisticated in many ways. He wrote the following text:

Line nos.	Spanish Composition- Bernardo Salas[9]
1	1.- Yo naci en el Hospital
2	De Cuernavaca
3	2.- fui creciendo cunpliendo los 6 años
4	me metieron a la Escula de Cuauchilés
5	La escuela era muy bonita cegido ponian
6	arbolitos ponian plantas de fruta pero
7	Los niños les decian alas Maestras
8	que no pusieran por que los niños
9	que estudian en la tarde en la escuela
10	los maltratan los quitan.
11	Los maestros hacen grupos paraque un dia
12	los riege uno cada quien tiene su dia para
13	regalos. Mi pápa ce hiva a venir para a ca
14	pero yo no queria y siempre ce vino
15	des pues pasaron los 9 meces y mi máma
16	ce alivio de mihermanita y yo estaba en
17	la escuela Despues mi hermanina
18	pasaron 8 meses y mi pápa ce trajo a
19	mi máma y pasando los meses
20	Al Año con 7 meses nos mando atraer mi
21	pápa y mi máma a mi hermana y ami

Free translation of Spanish Original
I was born in the Hospital in Cuernavaca. I grew and when I turned six they put me in the Cuauchilés School. The school was very pretty often they planted little trees they planted fruit trees but the children would tell the teachers not to plant them because the children that went to school in the afternoon damaged them and pulled them out. The teachers form groups so that one waters them one day each one has a day to water them. My father was going to come here but I did not want him to and he came anyway after that 9 months went by and my mother had my little sister and I was in school After my little sister 8 months went by and my father brought my mother over and as the months passed At a year and 7 months my father sent for my mother, my sister and me.

Analysis

In comparison to Elisa's text, Bernardo wrote a slightly less well organized piece. Also in comparison to Elisa, Bernardo's writing was characterized by a number of spelling confusions that are quite typical of Spanish-speaking individuals who have not received much education. These confusions include the use of the grapheme *c* to spell the sound [s] (e.g., *ce vino* for *se vino)*, the overuse of the grapheme *h* which is silent in Spanish (as in *hiva* for *iba);* and the use of the grapheme *v* for *b*. For native Spanish speakers, spelling confusions such as these arise in those instances in which the same sound can be spelled with different symbols. Among highly educated Spanish speakers, these spelling confusions are highly stigmatized although they are quite common. The

[9] This text is laid out exactly as written by the student

presence of such features in Bernardo's text reflect the fact that his experience in writing original texts was probably limited. According to Bernardo, "writing" assignments at his school mainly involved copying texts verbatim.

As was the case with Elisa's text, Bernardo produced a total of eight segments that were complete sentences but used only two periods and five capitals in sentence-initial positions. He did not use commas or other punctuation marks.

Also in comparison to Elisa, Bernardo had many more misspellings in addition to the spelling confusions mentioned above. A total of thirteen such misspellings included: incorrect uses of accent marks (*árbolitos* for *arbolitos, máma* for *mamá*); incorrect word segmentation (*alas* for *a las, mihermanita* for *mi hermanita, paraque* for *para que*).

In terms of content, Bernardo does indeed provide some of the information expected in a piece of writing focusing himself, however, the text appears, at first glance, to deal with two completely different topics: (1) a description of his school and the trees planted at the school and (2) a narrative about when the family came to the U.S.

A sentence-by sentence analysis of Bernardo's piece reveals the following structure:

Function	Sentence
Provides information about place of birth.	Yo naci en el Hospital de Cuernavaca
Provides information about age at which he entered school and gives the name of the school	fui creciendo cunpliendo los 6 años me metieron a la Escula de Cuauchilés
Describes school	La escuela era muy bonita
Describes planting of trees and students attitude toward the trees	cegido ponian arbolitos ponian plantas de fruta pero Los niños les decian alas Maestras que no pusieran por que los niños que estudian en la tarde en la escuela los maltratan los quitan.
Describes care of trees	Los maestros hacen grupos paraque un dia los riege uno cada quien tiene su dia para regalos.
Describes his father's coming to the US and his own attitude toward his father's decision	Mi pápa ce hiva a venir para a ca pero yo no queria y siempre ce vino
States that mother had new baby	des pues pasaron los 9 meces y mi máma ce alivio de mihermanita y yo estaba en la escuela
Provides information about when father sent for mother	Despues mi hermanina pasaron 8 meses y mi pápa ce trajo a mi máma y pasando los meses
Provides information about when father sent for the entire family	Al Año con 7 meses nos mando atraer mi pápa y mi máma a mi hermana y ami

A more detailed examination of the piece produced by Bernardo suggests that he may have attempted to write an account of his coming to the United States. The structure of the piece suggests that Bernardo wanted to describe the setting for his narrative (his school in Mexico) and move from there to describe the events that led to the family's migration. His attempt was unsuccessful in that it lacks cohesion. Transitions are missing between events and the ending is undeveloped. The attempt itself is revealing, however. Bernardo tried to write more than a simple description of himself. By describing his school, he attempted to provide a frame of reference within which his experience and his feelings about moving to a new country might be

understood. In comparison to the papers produced by the other focal students, Bernardo's piece was the most ambitious.

Manolo Fuentes

Manolo's composition was surprisingly unsophisticated compared with the writing produced by Elisa and Bernardo:

Line nos.	Spanish Composition- Manolo Fuentes[10]
1	Manolo Fuentes bino a los Estados Unidos en 1991.
2	En pese a benir a la escuela alprinsipio sentia mal porque
3	cuando salia a la calle ablavan muchas personas en ingles y
4	llono en ten dia lo que desian le echeganas al ingles y aora
5	en tiendo se pedircosa en ingles y mesiento vien pienso
6	esforsarme en el ingles y la escuela y rregresar a Mexico
7	cuando sea grande por a ora seguir en la escuela y estudiar
8	mucho
9	
10	
11	

Free translation of Spanish original
Manolo Fuentes came to the United States in 1991. I began to come to school at first I felt bad because when I went out in the street many people spoke English and I didn't understand what they said I put effort into English and now I understand I know how to ask for things in English and I feel good I plan to work hard at English and at school and to return to Mexico when I'm older for now stay in school and study a lot

Analysis

In terms of form, the text produced by Manolo is much less competent than those produced by Elisa and Bernardo. Like these two other focal students, Manolo does not punctuate sentences nor does he use sentence-initial capital letters. Unlike Elisa and Bernardo, however, Manolo makes no attempt to use the written accent, and he produces a very large number of incorrectly segmented words , for example *llono* (for *yo no*), *en pese* (for *empecé*) *en ten dia* (for *entendía*, *echeganas* (for *eché ganas*) *en tiendo* (for *entiendo*), *mesiento* (for *me siento*), and *a ora* for (*ahora*). Word segmentation errors such as these are generally typical of first and second graders and not of students of *primero de secundaria* (seventh grade) like Manolo. Other errors, however, involving confusion between *b* and *v* (*benir*, *bine*, *ablavan*, *vien*), confusion between *s*, *c*, and *z* (*em pese*, *prinsipio*, *desian*, *esforsarme*) , confusion between *ll* and *y* (*llono*), and misuse of *h* (*a ora*) are quite typical of persons who have completed elementary school (first through sixth grades) and even secundaria (seventh and eighth grades). The use of double *rr* (*rregresar*) in word initial position is not as common.

Considering the fact that Manolo attended school in Mexico City (a large metropolitan area), it is interesting that his written Spanish is much more flawed, for

[10]This text is laid out exactly as written by the student

example, than that produced by Elisa who came from a very rural community school in Honduras.

In terms of content, Manolo did indeed write on the assigned topic. He produced a total of six sentences that had the following function.

Function	Sentence
Provides information about when he came to the U.S.	Manolo Funetes bino a los Estados Ustados Unidos en 1991.
States that he started to attend school	En pese a benir a la escuela
Describes his feelings about not understanding English	alprinsipio sentia mal porque cuando salia a la calle ablavan muchas personas en ingles y llono en ten dia lo que desian
Describes effort to learn English and resulting language ability	le echeganas al ingles y aora en tiendo se pedircosa en ingles y me siento vien
Describes future plans	pienso esforsarme en el ingles y la escuela y rregresar a Mexico cuando sea grande
Describes plans for the present	por a ora seguir en la escuela y estudiar mucho

Manolo's paper (examined as an informative paper following Gentile, (1992) can be considered to include a limited amount of information as well as an attempt to relate several pieces of the information given. There is a sense of purpose in the writing as well as a focus.

Lilian Duque

Unlike Manolo, Lilian attended a very small rural school near the city of Guadalajara. In many ways, then, Lilian's educational experience could be expected to be much more limited than Manolo's. Surprisingly, Lilian's composition was in many ways very similar to the text produced by Manolo. She wrote:

Line nos.	Spanish Composition- Lilian Duque[11]
1	meyamo lilian nasi en Mexico
2	Tengo 13 años soi buena jente mis padres
3	son mexicanos no Tengo novio megusta mucho
4	ir Amisa megusta mucho la amistad Tan
5	bien megusta mucho estar aqui y megusta
6	mucho el Inglesh me gusta mucho estudiar
7	y benir A les cuela qui siera ir Amejico
8	durante 3 años y yomesienTobien se un
9	poco de Inglesh me gusta estudiar de
10	conputadora y Tanbien Inglesh megusta que
11	men señen Abla Inglesh y yo llege Aqui
12	es te año y megustomucho Aqui megusta Andaren Bike
13	
13	
15	
16	

Free translation of Spanish original
my name is Lilian I was born in Mexico I am 13 I'm a nice person my parents are Mexican I don't have a boyfriend I like to go to mass a lot I like friendship a lot I also like to be here and I like English a lot I like to study a lot and to come to school I would like to go to Mexico for three years and I feel fine I know a bit of English I like to study about computer and also English I like for them to teach me English and I got here this year and I liked it a lot I like to ride bikes

Analysis

Lilian's composition consists of a total of fourteen unpunctuated sentences. Unlike Bernardo, Elisa, and Manolo, Lilian does use some sentence-initial capital letters. (e.g., *Tengo 13 años* and *Tan bien megusta mucho estar aqui y megusta mucho el Inglesh*). She also uses capitals for *Mexico, Inglesh, Amejico,* and *Mexicanos* indicating an awareness of the fact that proper names are capitalized. It is interesting to note, however, that the word *mexicanos* (like all adjectives of nationality) is not capitalized in Spanish. Other uses of capitals in the text do not seem to follow a consistent pattern.

Like Manolo, Lilian's text is characterized by a number of word segmentation errors: (*megusta* for *me gusta, Amisa* for *a misa, meyamo* for *me llamo, tan bien* for *también, qui siera* for *quisiera, Amejico* for *a México, mesein tobien* for *me siento bien, men señen* for *me enseñen, megustomucho* for *me gusta mucho, Andaren* for *andar en*). She also reflects confusion between *b* and *v (nobio, benir),* between *s, c,* and *z* (*nasi*) , confusion between *ll* and *y (meyamo),* and confusion between *g* and *j (gente)*

In terms of content, Lilian's composition consists of very short sentences that have the following function:

[11] This text is laid out exactly as written by the student

Function	Sentence
States name	meyamo lisa
Gives place of birth	nasi en Mexico
Gives age	Tengo 13 años
Describes personality	soi buena jente
Gives parents' nationality	mis padres son mexicanos
States that she doesn't have a boy friend	no Tengo novio
Describes what she likes	megusta mucho ir Amisa
Describes what she likes	megusta mucho la amistad
Describes what she likes	Tan bien megusta mucho estar aqui y megusta mucho el inglesh
Describes what she likes	me gusta mucho estudiar y benir A les cuela
States desire to go to Mexico	quisiera ir Amejico durante 3 años
Says she is well	y yomesien Tobien
Describes English proficiency	se un poco de Inglesh
Describes what she likes to study	me gusta estudiar de conputadora y Tanbien Inglesh
Describes what she likes to learn	megusta que men señen Abla Inglesh
States when she arrived in US	y yo llege Aqui es te año y
Says she likes US	megusto mucho Aqui
States what she likes	megusta Andaren Bike

Lilian's paper (examined as an informative paper following Gentile, 1992) can be considered to be a simple listing. Lilian lists pieces of information and ideas all on the same topic but does not relate them well. She does indeed give information about herself including name, place of birth, nationality, arrival in the U.S. She also gives information about the kinds of things she likes to do. The presentation of these bits of information, however, are out of sequence. It appears that Lilian simply began to freewrite on the topic assigned using simple sentences that she felt she could control.

Leonor Mata

Of the five students assessed, Leonor Mata produced the least sophisticated example of Spanish writing.

Line nos.	Spanish Composition- Leonor Mata[12]
1	Yoso Leonor Mimama sellamarosa
2	Miermadon sellamajesus a mi me juatan
3	los purros miamiga sellama Pati;
4	miajuelita sellama jesus y mitiosellama
5	gavire
6	mejuta mucho mexico pero ma mejuta
7	perida
8	

Free translation of Spanish original
I am Leonor My mother's names is rosa
My brother 's name is jesus I like
dogs my friend's name is Patti;
my grandmother's name is jesus and my uncle's name is
gavire (Javier)
I like Mexico a lot but I like perida (??) more

Analysis

As compared to Marco's and Lilian's composition, Leonor's writing is characterized by more severe problems in word segmentation. Leonor writes entire phonemic phrases as one word (e.g., *lloso Leonor* (yo soy Leonor) and *mima sellamarosa* (mi mamá se llama Rosa) She also is inconsistent/idiosyncratic in her grapheme/phoneme uses. Most natives Spanish speaking writers, for example, do not confuse *d* with *n* (*ermadon*-line 2) or *ju* with *gu* (*juta*-line 8).

It is possible that problems in word segmentation are the effect of teaching methods used in some areas of Mexico where students are taught to sound out what they want to write using a syllable-by-syllable rather than a word-for-word approach. Leonor's writing, however, also shows other unique misspellings:

miermadon	mi hermano
a mi me juatan	a mí me gustan
purros	perros
miajuelita	mi abuelita
gavire	Javier
mejuta	me gusta
perida	(unclear what this is)

In terms of content, Leonor's composition focused on three main ideas: personal identification, names of family members, and what she likes. The structure of her composition included the following segments:

[12] This text is laid out exactly as written by the student

Function	Sentence
Identifies herself	Yoso leonor
Gives mother's name	Mimama sellamarosa
Gives brother's name	Miermadon sellamajesus
States liking	a mi me gustan los purros
Gives friend's name	miamiga sellama Pati;
Gives grandmother and uncle's names	miajuelita sellama jesus y mitiosellama gavire
States liking	mejuta mucho mexico por ma mejuta perida

Following the criteria suggested by Gentile (1992) for rating informative papers, Leonor's writing would be ranked very low. Like Lilian's composition, this piece is limited to listing bits of information. It is interesting to note that Leonor interpreted the task of writing about herself to involve introducing her relatives to the reader.

Spanish Language Writing Assessments—A Summary

The five student's whose Spanish language writing was assessed were found to be "literate" in Spanish. All were able to complete the assignment of writing about themselves as requested. There were, however, many differences in the pieces produced by the students. Indeed, taking into account both form and content, the five students could be ranked as follows in terms of their control of writing mechanics.

Name	Description of writing abilities
Elisa Lara	Has good control of word segmentation and spelling. Uses some accent marks in high-frequency words. Problems with capitalization and punctuation.
Bernardo Salas[13]	Has good control of word segmentation and spelling. Uses some accent marks in high-frequency words. Problems with capitalization and punctuation.
Manolo Fuentes	Has some basic control of word segmentation and spelling. Problems with capitalization and punctuation.
Lilian Duque	Has basic control of word segmentation and spelling. Reveals some knowledge of capitalization of proper nouns. Utilizes very short sentences.
Leonor Mata[14]	Has very limited control of word segmentation and spelling.

[13] Bernardo entered Garden School in January of the 91-92 school year. He was chosen as the fourth focal subject. His English language proficiency was assessed only once during the 1991-92 school year.

[14] Leonor returned to Mexico in December of the 91-92 school year. Data were gathered on this student during the first three months of the study, and she was included in the first language assessment.

The English Language Assessment Process during the First Year

Language Assessment I

In order to trace growth over time in the developing English language proficiencies of the students, the four language assessment procedures included the same or similar tasks each time that they were administered. Each assessment began with a series of personal information questions that required students to respond to inquiries about name, address, place of birth, previous schooling, family composition and daily routine. The second part of the assessment involved students in brief role-playing situations (buying something, making a long-distance phone call, going to the emergency room). The third part of the assessment focused on students' ability to use English for academic purposes (e.g., reading text materials and writing).

Oral Language Assessment

The first language assessment procedure (Assessment I) was administered after the focal students had been in school for approximately two months. In spite of the fact that all of the youngsters in the study had arrived in this country at generally the same time, the assessment revealed a number of differences between the students. The following samples are indicative of the oral language produced by these students in response to the segments of the assessment that sought to tap proficiencies in listening and speaking in face-to-face communicative encounters. The coding of students' language production that was carried out in analyzing the students' language is also included in each of the charts presented below.

Samples from Language Assessment 1
Elisa Lara,
November, 1991.

Coding of Language production	Language Produced
	Interviewer: Where do you live Elisa? Where do you live? Where is your house?
Understands questions on residence. Translates question.	**Elisa Lara**: oh. My house is um. ¿Le puedo decir en español? Que cómo, me preguntó que ¿por dónde queda mi casa? (Can I tell you in Spanish? That how, you asked me where is my house located?)
	Interviewer: MM. What Street?
Responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: Calderon and Cole.
	Interviewer: Oh good. What is your telephone number?
Responds to question on telephone number.	**Elisa Lara**: 929-8368
	Interviewer: Good. Where were you born? Where were you born? Where... you were a little baby, and you were born where? In the United States, in Mexico?

Responds after rephrasing of question. Uses hint provided by interviewer by listing countries.	**Elisa Lara**: Oh, Honduras.
Responds after rephrasing of question. Uses hint provided by interviewer by listing ages.	**Interviewer**: In Honduras, very good. How old are you? What is your age? How old are you? Are you ten, eleven, twelve **Elisa Lara**: oh twelve. **Interviewer**: You're twelve. okay, What is your nationality? Are you an American, are you a Mexican? **Elisa Lara:** Centro American. **Interviewer**: You're a Central American. Oh very interesting. What school do you go to?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara:** Garden School.
	Interviewer: Very good. What grade are you in? Are you 6th grade? 7th grade?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara:** Oh. 7th grade.
	Interviewer: 7th grade. What is your favorite activity? ¿Si me entiendes? (Do you understand me?)
Fails to understand.	**Elisa Lara**: Aha. ¿Qué cuál es mi (inaudible) algo así como (That what is my (inaudible) something like) **Interviewer**: Tu actividad favorita. (Your favorite activity) **Elisa Lara**: La clase de Mrs. Carr.
	Interviewer: Oh good. Ahora te voy a hacer preguntas, vas muy bien, vas a ver que vas progresando estupendamente. Ahora te voy hacer preguntas así como de tu familia y otras cosas okay. (Now I'm going to ask you questions, you're doing fine, you'll see that you're making great progress. Now I'm going to ask you questions like about your family and other things, okay?)
	What is your mother's name?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: Melia (Incomprehensible)
	Interviewer: What is your father's name?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: Jose Luis Lara.
	Interviewer And where is your father, in Honduras?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: nods yes.
	Interviewer: okay How many brothers and sisters do you have?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: One sister.

	Interviewer: And what is her name?
Understands and responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: Ernestina Lara
	Interviewer: Ernestina Lara How old is she? How old is she? What is her age? Is she eleven, ten, twelve.?
Responds after rephrasing of question. Uses hint provided by interviewer by listing ages.	**Elisa Lara**: Oh. ten.
	Interviewer: What time do you get up? What time do you get up in the morning?
Understands question. Translates to display understanding.	**Elisa Lara**: A que hora me levanto por la mañana? um
	Interviewer: Very good Elisa. You understand a lot of English.
Responds to question.	**Elisa Lara**: A las seis. At six o'clock.
	Interviewer: And what do you do? You get up a six and then what?
Understands question. Responds appropriately in Spanish.	**Elisa Lara**: um a vestirme.
	Interviewer: you get dressed.
Responds appropriately in Spanish.	**Elisa Lara**: Hacer el desayuno.
	Interviewer: Oh you make breakfast.
Responds appropriately in Spanish.	**Elisa Lara**: Y apago todas las luces.
	Interviewer: You turn off the lights.
	Elisa Lara: y de ahí le digo a mi hermana si ya está lista. Y me cepillo y de ahí nos venimos. (And from there I tell my sister if she is ready. And I brush and from there we come to school.)
	Interviewer: And then you come to school. aha. What time do you go to school? What time do you come to school?
Responds appropriately in Spanish.	**Elisa Lara**: um a las siete y viente, siete y quince.
	Interviewer: very early. What do you do in the evening? After school. What do you do in the evening?
States that she did not understand.	**Elisa Lara**: No se lo entiendo.

As will be noted, in this first segment of Language Assessment I, Elisa Lara was able to respond to personal information questions about herself and her immediate family. In some cases, however, comprehension depended on the use of "foreigner talk" by the interviewer who deliberately simplified her language and provided hints when the student appeared to be confused.

An example of a less proficient performance is included below:

Language Assessment 1 Leonor Mata November, 1991	
Coding of Language production	**Language Produced**
	Interviewer : What is your name?
Understands and responds to question.	**Leonor Mata**: Lorena.
	Interviewer: Good. Okay. Where do you live?
	Leonor Mata: (Silence)
	Interviewer: Where do you live? Where is your house? Where is your house?
Understands question. Has difficulty responding to the question as asked. Provides related information	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, apartment.
	Interviewer: Okay. What is your telephone number?
Understands and responds to question.	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, no telephone.
	Interviewer: Okay. Where were you born?(silence) In Michoacan, en Guadalajara.
???	**Leonor Mata**: (unclear) Seridad.????
	Interviewer: Okay. How old are you?
Fails to understand? Does not know numbers in English?	**Leonor Mata**: Five.
	Interviewer: No, how old are you? How old are you; what age are you? Are you twelve, eleven, thirteen?
Responds after rephrasing of question. Uses hint provided by interviewer by listing ages.	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, thirteen.
	Interviewer: Thirteen, uh. What is your nationality? (silence) Are you American; are you Puerto Rican, are you Chinese? What is your na.
Responds after rephrasing of question.	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, Mexico
	Interviewer: Mexican, very good. Okay. Now, what school do you go to? (silence) What is the name of your school?
Understands and responds to question.	**Leonor Mata**: Garden.
	Interviewer: Good. What grade are you in?
	Leonor Mata: 8th?
	Interviewer: Eighth grade? Good, okay. What is your favorite activity. Your favorite activity.
Fails to understand. Gives inappropriate answer.	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, catorce. (fourteen)

	Interviewer: Okay, Ahora, te voy a preguntar de tu familia. What is your mother's name? **Leonor Mata**: Rosa. **Interviewer**: How many brothers and sisters do you have?
Fails to understand. Gives inappropriate answer.	**Leonor Mata**: uhm. Javier. (Gives the name of a person)
Interviewer continues assuming Javier is one of her brothers.	**Interviewer**: How old is Javier?
Fails to understand. Gives inappropriate answer.	**Leonor Mata**: Mi tío. Jesús. Mi hermano, pero vive en México. (My uncle Jesus. My brother but he lives in Mexico)

Leonor's performance in the role-playing segment involving going to the store and buying something was also quite limited:

Interviewer:

Este vamos a hacer de cuenta que estamos así en esta tienda como en la que entraste y tú vas a comprar algo. Okay. Y lo que tú quieres comprar, no hay en la tienda, okay. Así es que me tienes que preguntar, tiene Ud. esto. Y yo te contesto. Okay.	Let's pretend that we are in a store like one you went into and you are going to buy something. And what you want to buy isn't there is the store, so you have to ask me, "do you have this?" And I will answer, okay?

	Interviewer: Hello, how are you? **Leonor Mata**: uhm, fine. **Interviewer**: Good. What do you want? Can I help you?
Requests	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, Give me one soda. **Interviewer**: One soda. What kind of soda?
Attempts to respond and fails	**Leonor Mata**: Bet, bet **Interviewer**: Um, I don't understand. I'm sorry. **Leonor Mata**: uhm. **Interviewer**: We have Coca-Cola, we have 7-Up, we have Sprite, we have uhm Calistoga water. What kind of soda?
Responds to choice question	**Leonor Mata**: uhm, Coca-Cola. **Interviewer**: Coca-Cola, okay. That's sixty cents. **Leonor Mata**: uhm. **Interviewer**: Sixty cents, sixty cents. Do you have money?
Fails to understand cost of purchase	**Leonor Mata**: Yeah. **Interviewer**: Okay, that's sixty cents. ¿Si me entendiste? (Did you understand me?) Sixty cents. ¿Cuánto es? (How much is that?)

Partially understands quantity	**Leonor Mata**: Sesenta y cinco, sestenta y seis. (sixty five, sixty six)

By comparison, Manolo Fuentes displayed far more familiarity and control of English in the same role-playing situation:

	Interviewer: Hello. Good Morning.
Initiates request for information	**Manolo Fuentes**: Good Morning. How much is here this little toy.
	Interviewer: This little toy? That's five ninety-eight.
Keeps communication going. Initiates other request for information	**Manolo Fuentes**: Five ninety-eight. Or this one?
	Interviewer: This one is, I think it's twelve ninety-five. Let me look. Yes, twelve ninety-five. This is very good.
Signals understanding	**Manolo Fuentes**: oh yea.
	Interviewer: It's French. It's a French toy.
	Manolo Fuentes: Okay.
	Interviewer: This is a Mexican toy. (pointing to the first toy)
Changes subject	**Manolo Fuentes**: Okay. I like the food. Where is the food?
	Interviewer: The food. We don't have very much food here. We have some sodas and we have some potato chips, but we don't have food.
Changes request	**Manolo Fuentes**: okay. Where is the candy? Candy.
Interviewer uses obvious foreigner talk.	**Interviewer**: Ah yes the candies; we have some candies. We have them over here. We have just a few candies. We have just a few candies. huh.
	Manolo Fuentes: uha.
	Interviewer: Would you like some candies?
Requests information. Misuses vocabulary.	**Manolo Fuentes**: I like. You no have cash? I don't have.
	Interviewer: You don't have cash?
Clarifies meaning	**Manolo Fuentes**: No I have one bill, twenty.
	Interviewer: Oh no, that's too big. I don't have change. No change, I'm sorry. No, no change. You have one dollar, you have two dollars, I have change. Twenty dollars, I don't have change.
Signals understanding	**Manolo Fuentes**: All right.

Assessment I: A Summary

All four of the students assessed in the fall of the first year attempted to respond to each of the segments of the English language proficiency assessment. There were both nervous and apprehensive but nevertheless made obvious efforts to please the researchers. In all cases, the procedure revealed that students' listening comprehension abilities were developing more rapidly than their productive speaking abilities. Additionally, responses to personal questions revealed that students could most easily use English to talk about their school and school-related activities. They were, however, unable to provide complete information about their families or about routine and favorite activities carried out at home. Similarly, responses to the role-playing situations revealed that, for the most part, students did not find themselves in real-life situations (such as the hospital, the store, or a restaurant) where they had heard or had to use the kinds of functional expressions expected by the assessment procedure. Except for Manolo, the students were relatively unsuccessful at participating in these activities.

Written Language Assessment

For the reading segment of the assessment procedure, students were shown a colorful youth magazine that had many pictures and illustrations along with articles on a number of different subjects (e.g., circuses, plants, animals) that were generally considered by the researchers to be familiar to youngsters who had just arrived in this country. Students were given the following instructions in Spanish:

> Go through this magazine with me and find something you want to read. Read it and then tell me about it.

Students' ability to "read" illustrations, utilize cognates, and use prior knowledge in order to carry out the task varied. Three students attempted to read English by vocalizing English words using Spanish sound-symbol correspondences. When asked to guess intelligently about the topics of the different readings by using pictures and words that looked like Spanish, students varied in their ability to do so. Lilian and Lorena, for example, were quite apprehensive about the activity and only managed to offer a guess about topic after they were given a great deal of help by the interviewer. Manolo Fuentes and Elisa, on the other hand , were able to read an article about a young Latino circus performer and to recall key ideas in Spanish that they had understood from the article written in English.

For the initial assessment of writing abilities in English, students were asked, in Spanish, to write about a half page in English about either themselves or their family. The following writings were produced by the four students tested in the fall.

Elisa

Thes tha paper	My mother is Melia
" " father	
" " mother	family
" " boy	
" " girl	
" " baby	
door	
window	
mesuring spoon	
spatula o turner	
postre	
measurins cup	
teacher	
sister	
brother	
granmother	
name	
period	

Manolo

This is the naigt the Hallowen much people go to the strets for candies much people have mask the mommy, bat, or dracula ay like mask the bat or much more mask.

Leonor

mene les Leonor ..wvido don peti
pepo vedo telefon califolia
pason paepor shaque

Lilian

Hi! Bak Telephone Namer
Door wvindow Dor clak boy bebe
haus cap map

As the above texts make clear, in general, students' writing abilities in English were largely non-existent. Except for Manolo, students would be rated at the modified Novice-low level of the ACTFL Language Proficiency Guidelines. At most, Lilian and Leonor and Bernardo were able to attempt to transcribe familiar words using Spanish sound-symbol equivalencies. Elisa used conventional English spelling for most words on her list, and only Manolo attempted to express himself about a single topic.

A Profile of the Focal Students' Initial Proficiency in English

Based on classroom observations, the assessment tasks and the analysis of the functional proficiencies demonstrated by the students on these tasks, a profile of the initial language levels for the four students tested was developed using the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines.[15] These profiles are included below.

Profiles of the English-language Proficiency of the Four Focal Students
Fall Semester 1991

Profile for *Leonor Mata* and *Lilian Duque*

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Novice Low Oral production consists of isolated words and perhaps a few high-frequency phrases. Essentially no functional communicative ability.
Listening	Novice Mid Able to understand some short, learned utterances, particularly where context strongly supports understanding and speech is clearly audible. Comprehends some words and phrases from simple questions, statements, high-frequency commands and courtesy formulae about topics that refer to basic personal information or the immediate physical setting. The listener requires long pauses for assimilation and periodically requests repetition and/or a slower rate of speech.
Reading	Novice Low Able occasionally to identify isolated words and/or major phrases when strongly supported by context.
Writing	Novice Low (modified) Attempts to transcribe familiar words. Uses phoneme/grapheme conventions of first language. Writing not recognizable as target language.
Overall	**Novice Low**

[15] The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines were developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and are based on the model used by the foreign service to describe various levels of proficiency. The ACTFL Guidelines were not designed to rate the proficiency in English of newly-arrived immigrant students, but were instead intended to evaluate the foreign language proficiencies of American students studying languages such as Spanish, French, and German in this country. We have elected to use them here because, to our knowledge, they offer the most complete overview available of a hierarchy of global characterizations of integrated performance in speaking, listening, reading and writing.

Profile for Elisa Lara

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Novice Low Oral production consists of isolated words and perhaps a few high-frequency phrases. Essentially no functional communicative ability.
Listening	Novice High Able to understand short, learned utterances and some sentence-length utterances, particularly where context strongly supports understanding and speech is clearly audible. Comprehends words and phrases from simple questions, statements, high-frequency commands and courtesy formulae. May require repetition, rephrasing and/or a slowed rate of speech for comprehension.
Reading	Novice Mid Able to recognize the symbols of an alphabetic and/or syllabic writing system and /or a limited number o characters in a system that uses characters. The reader can identify an increasing number of highly contextualized words and/or phrases including cognates and borrowed words, where appropriate. Material understood rarely exceeds a single phrase at a time, and rereading may be required.
Writing	Novice Mid Able to copy or transcribe familiar words or phrases and reproduce some from memory. No practical communicative writing skills.
Overall	Novice Mid

Profile for Manolo Founts

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Intermediate Low Able to handle successfully a limited number of interactive, task-oriented and social situations. Can ask and answer questions, initiate and respond to simple statements and maintain face-to-face conversation, although in a highly restricted manner and with much linguistic inaccuracy. Within these limitations, can perform such tasks as introducing self, ordering a meal, asking directions, and making purchases. Vocabulary is adequate to express only the most elementary needs. strong interference from native language may occur. Misunderstandings frequently arise, but with repetition, the Intermediate-Low speaker can generally be understood by sympathetic interlocutors.
Listening	Intermediate Low Able to understand sentence-length utterances which consist of recombinations of learned elements in a limited number of content areas, particularly if strongly supported by the situational context. Content refers to basic personal background and needs, social conventions and routine tasks, such as getting meals, and receiving simple instructions and directions. Listening tasks pertain primarily to spontaneous face-to-face conversations. Understanding is often uneven; repetition and rewording may be necessary. Misunderstandings in both main ideas and details arise frequently.
Reading	Intermediate Low Able to understand main ideas and/or some facts from the simplest connected texts dealing with basic personal and social needs. Such texts are linguistically non complex and have a clear underlying internal structure, for example chronological sequencing. They impart basic information about which the reader has to make only minimal suppositions or to which the reader brings personal interest and/or knowledge. Examples include messages with social purposes or information for the widest possible audience, such as public announcements and short, straightforward instructions dealing with public life. Some misunderstandings will occur.
Writing	Novice Mid Able to copy or transcribe familiar words or phrases and reproduce some from memory. No practical communicative writing skills.
Overall	**Intermediate Low**

Each of the above profiles includes the description of abilities suggested by the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines for speaking, listening, reading, and writing. The Guidelines themselves categorize proficiency development into four main levels (novice, intermediate, advanced, and superior). Each of these levels is, in turn, divided into a number of sub-levels. Level and sub-levels for *speaking* have been included below.

Novice
The novice level is characterized by the ability to communicate minimally with learned material.
Novice-low
Novice-mid
Novice High

Intermediate
The Intermediate level is characterized by the speaker's ability to: —create with the language by combining and recombining learned elements though primarily in a reactive mode; —initiate, minimally sustain, and close in a simple way basic communicative tasks; and -ask and answer questions
Intermediate-low
Intermediate-mid
Intermediate -high

Advanced
The Advanced level is characterized by the speaker's ability to: —converse in a clearly participatory fashion; —initiate, sustain, and bring to closure a wide variety of communicative tasks, including those that require an increased ability to convey meaning with diverse language strategies due to a complication or an unforeseen turn of events; —satisfy the requirements of school and work situations; and —narrate and describe with paragraph-length connected discourse.
Advanced
Advanced-Plus

Superior
The Superior level is characterized by the speaker's ability to: —participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, professional and abstract topics; and —support opinions and hypothesize using native-like discourse strategies
Superior

As will be noted from the profiles included above, two students (Leonor and Lilian) were rated *novice-low*. One student (Elisa) was rated *novice-mid*, and one student (Manolo) was rated *intermediate-low*. In terms of the levels included on this scale, none of the students could be said to be functional in any significant sense in the English language.

Language Assessment II

The students' language proficiency was once again assessed during the first year of the study near the end of the academic year. The procedures followed for Assessment II were almost identical to those included in the first. However, the oral segment of the procedure added three listening comprehension activities designed to assess students ability to understand connected discourse and classroom explanations. Additionally, the written-language segment of the procedure was extended to include a reading about a well-known person (e.g., Barbara Streisand, Michael Jackson, Pelé) and two different writing activities. A copy of the procedure is included in Appendix A.

Bernardo Salas

As was expected, Bernardo Salas performance on this assessment was quite poor. After five months of exposure to English, his development in this language was quite limited. The following transcribed segments reflect these limitations:

Interviewer: Okay te digo lo que voy a hacer. Vamos a hacer de cuenta que no se yo ni cómo te llamas, ni nada; y te voy a hacer preguntas, así en general. A ver qué tantas me entiendes. Las que me entiendas me contestas; las que no le seguimos. Okay. What is your name?
(Okay, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. Let's pretend that I don't even know what your name is or anything and I'm going to ask you questions, just general questions. Let's see how many you understand. What you understand, you answer; those that you don't, we'll just go on. Okay?)
Bernardo Salas: Bernardo Salas.
Interviewer: Aha, nice to meet you Bernardo. Where do you live?
Bernardo Salas: Uhm. (silence)
Interviewer: Okay. What is your telephone number?
Bernardo Salas: 9-6-1- 15-10.
Interviewer: Good. Where were you born?
Bernardo Salas: (silence) no.
Interviewer: No. How old are you?
Bernardo Salas: Uhm. es bien no.
Interviewer: Sí, y este how old are you? Twelve, thirteen, fourteen.
Bernardo Salas: Ah este, uhm, thirteen.
Interviewer: Thirteen. Okay good. What is your nationality? What country are you from?
Bernardo Salas: Uhm..Linden. (Gives street name)
Interviewer: Aha. What school do you go to?
Bernardo Salas: Garden Middle School.
Interviewer: Garden Middle School. Good. What grade are you in?
Bernardo Salas: Silence. no.
Interviewer: Tell me about your family. What is your father's name?
Bernardo Salas: Rodolfo.
Interviewer: And what is your mother's name?
Bernardo Salas: Francisca.

Interviewer: Francisca, okay. You have four brothers and sisters? How many brothers?
Bernardo Salas: no, (shakes head no).
Interviewer: No. Sisters?
Bernardo Salas: no (doesn't seem to understand)
Interviewer: Does. Your sister, what is her name?
Bernardo Salas: Cecilia.
Interviewer: Cecilia. Okay, and you have another sister. Whose name is Marla.
Bernardo Salas: Marla. What other sisters? What are their names?
Bernardo Salas: Este, Alma.
Interviewer: Alma, okay. So it's Bernabe, Cecilia, Marla, and Alma and who else?
Bernardo Salas: No.
Interviewer: No, it's only dos? (two)
Bernardo Salas: Dos. Es este, Alma, Marla es Cecilia, le dicen Marla Cecilia. (Uh, Alma, Marla is Cecilia, they call her Marla Cecilia.)
Interviewer: Ah. So Marla Cecilia is the same person.

Quite surprisingly, however, given what in some cases appeared to be a limited understanding of routine personal information questions, Bernardo was able to understand connected discourse. The listening comprehension activity added to the Assessment II procedure was designed as follows:

Academic language proficiency- Ability to understand explanations/follow directions.

Directions to Interviewers:
Explain in first language that you are going to give child directions and that he should follow them. You will have all the appropriate props with you and laid out on the table.
In all cases, do not slow down your speech. Talk exactly as you might to a class you yourself might be teaching.

I am going to tell you a little bit about the Island of Hawaii. Take a sheet of paper from the table and take notes on what I say. After I finish, I'm going to ask you to remember three important things that I said. Talk about Hawaii, pointing to the map as you talk.

Hawaii is a group of islands located in the Pacific Ocean. They are located 2,400 miles southwest of California. The state of Hawaii includes eight large islands and many tiny islands. Honolulu, located on the island of Oahu, is the capital and largest city.

Most of the islands are the tops of volcanic mountains which rise from the ocean floor. All the volcanoes are inactive at the moment.
The name of the largest island of all of the Hawaiian islands is Hawaii., just like the state itself. This is the "big island," and it is almost 90 miles at its largest point. It is also known as orchid island because more orchids grow here than anywhere else. The main occupations of the people are production of sugar and coffee, growing of orchids, and cattle raising.

Hawaii is connected to the United States by airlines and by ships. The trip from California takes about 4 1/2 hours in a jet plane and about 4 1/2 days by ocean liner. More than 2.5 million people fly to and from Hawaii every year. Many people go there for their vacation and enjoy the beaches and the beautiful scenery.

Ask student to tell you three things about Hawaii in English. Probe to keep the conversation going: e.g.. what else do you know about Hawaii" Have you ever been there? What do you know about the people? Have you studied about Hawaii in school? What other countries have you studied about. *What you are trying to do here is to engage the student in conversation about school subjects involving geography. Probe to see what the student can talk about relating to the study of maps, countries, continents, US states, etc.*

When the student appears to run out of things to say, probe further in his first language. We want to see how much he was able to learn from our talk about Hawaii even though he may not be able to display this knowledge in English.

Bernardo was unable to demonstrate what he had understood through English. However, in Spanish, he attempted to recall the three facts that he had been directed to remember.

G.V.: Dime ¿qué tanto me entendiste de lo que dije de Hawaii?	Tell me, how much did you understand of what I told you about Hawaii?
B.S.: De Hawaii queda de los Estados Unidos. (pointing to the map in front of him) Que son nueve islas. Nueve, como son, si.	About Hawaii its located from the United States (pointing to the map in front of him) That here are nine islands, nine, they are, yes
G.V.: Islas.	Islands
B.S.: Si.	Yes
G.V.: Y	And
B.S.: Y aquí Estados Unidos, city.	And here the United States, city
G.V.: Uhm, okay. ¿Qué es Honolulu?	Okay, what is Honolulu?
B.S.: Honolulu, no no sé.	Honolulu, no, I don't know.
G.V.: Cuando te digo que Honolulu is the capital of Hawaii.	When I tell you that Honolulu is the capital of Hawaii.
B.S.: Es la capital de Hawaii.	Its the capital of Hawaii.
G.V.: Exacto. And the name of the island is Oahu. The name of this island is Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Oahu. Oahu is an island and Honolulu is in the island of Oahu. Okay. ¿Qué más me entendiste?	How much more did you understand?
B.S.: (silence)	
G.V.: ¿Qué más te dije?	What else did I say?
B.S.: Que este el Oceano Pacific.	That this is the Pacific Ocean.
G.V.: Okay very good. Very good, what else. Which is the biggest island. ¿Eso sí me entendiste lo que te comenté de esta isla? ¿Sí te acuerdas, qué te dije? O de eso ¿no me entendiste mucho?	You did understand what I said about this island? You do remember what I said? Or you didn't understand too much about that?
B.S.: (silence) No.	

While encouraging, Bernardo's ability to talk about Hawaii may have had less to do with his understanding of the English language presentation than with his existing knowledge of Hawaii and of geography in general. It will be recalled that Bernardo was in his first year of secundaria in Mexico and that, of all of the focal students, his first language literacy was the highest.

For his reading in English, Bernardo selected a selection on Pelé from an ESL reader about famous people. With the passage in front of him. Bernardo wrote the following summary of the selection.

pele have friends played soccer pele he played for the New York Pele played his first Pele He became a millionaire He was the most famous

As will be noted, Bernardo appeared to be copying directly from the text, and in one instance, it is possible that he did not understand exactly what he was copying. This is suggested by the fact that left the sentence: "Pelé played his first" unfinished.

Bernardo's limitations were far more evident, however, on the writing task in which he was asked to write on his school or his family. For this task, Bernardo wrote:

fader eat the beibi have pencil sister

On the basis of this assessment and on the basis of observations carried out in Bernardo's classes, his profile at the end of the five months of school was identical to that of Leonor and Lilian at the end of three months. He was rated as follows:

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Novice Low
Listening	Novice Mid
Reading	Novice Low
Writing	Novice Low (modified)
Overall	**Novice Low**

Lilian Duque

Lilian's performance was also disappointing. Her abilities in English improved only slightly between November and May. The following segments are illustrative of her performance:

G.V: What is your name?
L.D.: Lizeth
G.V.: And where do you live?
L.D.: the name of the city?
G.V.: Where do you live? Where is you house?
L.D.: Uhm, Linden.
G.V.: Uhm.
L.D.: veinte y dos treinta
G.V.: Okay, what is your telephone number?
L.D.: Lo acaban de cambiar.
G.V.: Ah, they changed it. Where were you born?
L.D.: uhm. (shakes her head, she doesn't understand).

G.V.: No. Okay, how old are you?
L.D.: Ahm, uhm, como se dice trece? Thirteen?
G.V.: Thirteen. What is your nationality?
L.D.: Cuando naci? (Where was I born?)
G.V.: No. What is your nationality? Are you from Mexico, from Puerto Rico? from Honduras?
L.D.: Mexico.

Lilian understood quite a bit of English, and she also did excellently at guessing what was logically the next question in the sequence. However, her ability to answer in English was limited. Generally, Lilian demonstrated her understanding of questions asked in English by giving the Spanish translation, for example:

G.V.: How old are they?
L.D.: ¿Cuántos años tienen?
G.V.: Uhm.
L.D.: Julio tiene dieciséis, diecisiete, Ida tiene dieciseis, trece, diez, y uno.
G.V.: Okay, good. Do they go to school?
L.D.: Yeah.
G.V.: Where do your parents work? Where does your father work?
L.D.: ¿En qué trabaja mi papá?
G.V.: uhm.

Lilian's understanding of the presentation on Hawaii also appeared to be somewhat sketchy. Like Bernardo, Lilian was able to talk about the passage only in Spanish. However, her recollection of what she heard (or her previous knowledge about Hawaii) was more limited.

G.V.: Okay ¿qué le entendiste de lo que te dije de Hawaii?	Okay, what did you understand about what I said about Hawaii?
L.D.: Que California tenía más personas que Hawaii?	That California has more people than Hawaii.
G.V.: Okay.	
L.D.: Millas creo que tenía más.	Miles, I think it had more.
G.V.: Okay.	
L.D.: Los números no recuerdo.	The numbers I don't remember.
G.V.: No le hace.	It doesn't matter.
L.D.: Um. Distan... o (pointing to he islands).	Distan... or
G.V.: Islas.	Islands
L.D.: Islas.	Islands
G.V.: Okay. ¿Qué te dije de Honolulu, te acuerdas? Déjame volvértelo a decir. Honolulu is the capital of Hawaii. It is located in Oahu.	Okay. What did I say about Honolulu, do you remember? Let me tell you again. Honolulu is the capital of Hawaii. It is located in Oahu.
L.D.: Es igual que Hawaii.	It's the same as Hawaii.

G.V.: The capital., It's the capital.	
L.D.: The capital?	
G.V.: Uhm. ¿Qué más te acuerdas?	What else do you remember?
L.D.: Aqui vive, many people. Uhm, coffee, café.	Many people live here. Uhm coffee, cafe.
G.V.: Que bien.	Good

It is important to point out that useful as the above task was in helping researchers determine student's academic language proficiency, it is also the case that such listening comprehension tests often can also become tests of memory. In Lilian's case, it is likely that a combination of factors contributed to her "lack of understanding" of the passage in question: (1) lack of background knowledge about Hawaii, (2) memory limitations, and (3) limited experience in listening to and attempting to understand connected discourse.

For her reading task, Lilian selected a passage about Michael Jackson. She read the passage silently. Her oral summary of the reading, however, revealed little about her understanding of the passage. She stated general common-knowledge facts about Jackson such as the fact that he was famous and that many people went to his concerts. She was, however, able to go back to the text and find Jackson's birthday when asked to do so. She also picked out the word beach and the word religion from the text.

With the text in front of her, Lilian wrote the following summary:

Michael Jackson was born on August 29, 1958, in Gary, Indiana.
when Michael became older an more famous,
he dated movie star tatum O'Neal several time.
But he is happy that his fans like him so much
He is also very glad that they enjoy his music.
My luket muby Micael Jackson t.v.
contruk

For the free task, Lilian wrote a list of words as follows:

because
people
hause
school
froder
pull
lucky
by
for my
mader
fader
roon
~~compiute~~ (crossed out)
boy
table
orange
telepone
ofecis
dog
cat
manke
~~pen~~
~~fori~~
love foreve
hear
purple

From this writing sample, it is evident that—by the end of the first year—Lilian had learned how to write a number of high-frequency English words. As compared to what she had written at the time of Assessment I, Lilian had indeed made some progress.

Overall, after nine months of schooling at Garden School, Lilian's English language proficiency was rated as follows:

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Novice-Mid Oral production continues to consist of isolated and learned phrases within very predictable areas of need, although quantity is increased. Vocabulary is sufficient only for handling simple, elementary needs and expression basic courtesies. Utterances rarely consist of more than two or three words and show frequent long pauses and repetition of interlocutor's words. Speaker may have some difficulty producing even the simplest utterances. Some Novice-mid speakers will be understood only with great difficulty.
Listening	Novice High Able to understand short, learned utterances and some sentence-length utterances, particularly where context strongly supports understanding and speech is clearly audible. Comprehends words and phrases from simple questions, statements, high-frequency commands and courtesy formulae. May require repetition, rephrasing and/or a slowed rate of speech for comprehension.
Reading	Novice Mid Able to recognize the symbols of an alphabetic and/or syllabic writing system and /or a limited number o characters in a system that uses characters. The reader can identify an increasing number of highly contextualized words and/or phrases including cognates and borrowed words, where appropriate. Material understood rarely exceeds a single phrase at a time, and rereading may be required.
Writing	Novice Mid Able to copy or transcribe familiar words or phrases and reproduce some from memory. No practical communicative writing skills.
Overall	**Novice-Mid**

Elisa Lara

As compared to Lilian, Elisa Lara made impressive progress during the nine-month school year. Her growing abilities in listening and speaking could be seen, for example, in her replies to the general personal-information questions.

G.V. What is your name?
E.L.: Elisa Lara
G.V.: Where do you live?
E.L.: In Colorado Street.
G.V.: Okay, what is your telephone number?
E.L.: My telephone number is 4, 415- 909-7448
G.V.: Where were you born?
E.L.: Where I born? In Honduras.

G.V.: Okay, what's the name of the city?
E.L.: Atontida, La Seria.
G.V.: Okay, what is your age?
E.L.: Thirteen years old.
G.V.: Good, and what is your nationality?
E.L.: My nationality is from Honduras.
G.V.: Okay, And what school do you go to.
E.L.: I go to the school Garden Middle School.
G.V.: Okay, and what grade are you in?
E.L.: Seventh grade.
G.V.: What is your favorite activity?
E.L.: In the school?
G.V.: Anywhere.
E.L.: In the school, go to the seventh period. In my house.
Interruption
G.V.: So what is your favorite activity, seventh period?
E.L.: Uhm.
G.V.: And then?
E.L.: Go to my house and do my homework and cook.
G.V.: And cook. So you are a good cook. Now tell me about your family. What is your father's name and your mother's name.
E.L.: My father's name is Jose Luis Lara Armas. And my mother's name is Magda Lucía Barreno.
G.V.: Good, and how many brothers and sisters do you have?
E.L.: I have only sisters and I have two sisters.
G.V.: And what are there names and how old are they?
E.L.: My sisters' name are Ernestina Lara and Ada Virginia Montes. And Ernestina Lara have eleven years old and Ada Montes have four years old.
G.V.: Do they go to school?
E.L.: Only my sister.
G.V.: Only your eleven year old sister.
E.L.: Uhm.
G.V.: Where does your mother work?
E.L.: She work in RepisCom. She work with computers. And she clean a house and she take care for a old man.
G.V.: An old man. She takes care of the old man; is that all day long on Saturday and Sunday?
E.L.: No. Saturday the sometime twelve to ten and sometimes to then five eh to ten.
G.V.: Five to ten o'clock. So she doesn't have to get up very early on Saturdays. That's good. So tell me what you do everyday.
E.L.: Uhm, I get up at ten of seven, six a.m. And I come to school and when I go to my house I clean my house, I cook, I eat and I do my homework and then I watch T.V.
G.V.: Oh, that's good. What kinds of things do you cook?
E.L.: Uhm, eggs, meat, soup, beans, rice, vegetables.

This same ability to participate in face-to-face interaction without major breakdowns in communication was also evident in the role-playing activities.
It is important to point out that, in this case, although Elisa did not have control of all the necessary vocabulary, she was able to circumlocute and otherwise continue to participate in the interaction.

G.V.: Okay, thank-you very much. Ahora estás enferma. You are sick and you are trying to see a doctor and I am a nurse. And you have to tell me what is wrong with you first. Okay, here we are at the hospital. Hello, Miss.
E.L.: Hi.
G.V.: How are you?
E.L.: I'm fine. Thank-you; a little bit sick.
G.V.: Oh, a little bit sick. What is the problem?
E.L.: I have something in my. Como se dice (points to throat area)
G.V.: Throat?
E.L.: My throat. And I need to see the doctor.
G.V.: Uhm, but what kind of thing do you have in your throat?
E.L.: Sometime my voice is not very good. And I want to see the doctor because (pause) I don't like to.
G.V.: How long has this been going on.
E.L.: Maybe three weeks.
G.V.: Three weeks. Do you have any other symptoms?
E.L.: No, sometimes cold.
G.V.: Do you have allergies? Allergies. Are you allergic to something.
E.L.: (Shakes her head)
G.V.: No. Do you have a temperature?
E.L.: Sometimes.
G.V.: Sometimes. This thing in the throat; is it there all day long?
E.L.: No. Every week.
G.V.: Every week. In the mornings, in the afternoon, all day long.
E.L.: In the morning.
G.V.: In the mornings, when you wake up?
E.L.: Uhm.
G.V.: All right, I will see if I can get you to see the doctor. Okay,

Although Elisa did not carry the burden of conversation in the role-playing task, she was able to quickly follow a change of direction in the conversation. Her ability to produce connected discourse in English, however, was far more evident in her response to the listening comprehension passage on Hawaii.

G.V.: Okay, so tell me about three things that you remember that I told you.
E.L.: In Hawaii some mountains have volcanoes. And, the large, one of the name of the island is Honolulu?

G.V.: Um, well the island is Oahu and this is Honolulu. Honolulu is the capital.
E.L.: Oh, the capital, one of
G.V.: Of Hawaii, uhm. Okay. What else?
E.L.: uhm, En Hawaii some people work producing sugar. And Hawaii is connected with the United States. And every year some many people go to Hawaii?
G.V.: Why do they go to Hawaii?
E.L.: For vacation, for business.
G.V.: Good. Okay, anything else you remember?
E.L.: They go in airplanes and boats and in boats and (mumbles something)
G.V.: How far away. Do you remember how far California is from Hawaii.
E.L.: Twenty-four?
G.V.: Uhm, Twenty-four hundred?
E.L.: Uhm,
G.V.: Two-thousand four hundred miles. Okay. Good.

In terms of the written language tasks, Elisa also showed marked improvement. Although the text summary on Barbara Streisand reflected had some problems, unlike Bernardo and Lilian, Elisa did not copy directly from the text materials. She produced the following text:

Barbara was a very ugly girl and she wanted to be a actress but her wanted to she need to be a secretary. Barbara wanted to learn dance but her don't like to her ~~dat~~ don't like to her daughter dace because she think the is going to break.

In this passage. Elisa attempted to reflect several key points contained in the reading: that Barbara wanted to be an actress, that her mother wanted her to be a secretary, and that her mother was afraid that if she danced, her bones would break. By itself, the text produced by Elisa is a very primitive, but—with knowledge of the reading passage it attempted to summarize, it is evident that Elisa came close to communicating these key ideas. It is interesting to note that her oral summary of the story revealed that she understood the reading quite well indeed.

G.V.: Now, tell me what it said. Tell me something you remember about it. E.L.: She was a ugly girl. G.V.: An ugly girl. Okay. E.L.: And delgada? G.V.: Thin, okay.	

E.L.: And her mother want to she be a secretary. And she want to be a actress. And (pause) 1961 she go to a nightclub and she work like a funny girl I think so. And she, ¿cómo se dice?	And she, how do you say?
G.V.: You can look at that if you want to.	
E.L.: Funny Brace. And then she goes be a star on the radio in the radio for two years Barbara performance every week. And.	
G.V.: Okay, ahora dime en español. Qué le sacaste de la lectura	Okay, now tell me in Spanish. What did you get from the reading?
E.L.: Ella era un poquito fea. La mamá no quería que ella, la mamá no la metía en un grupo de danza porque no quería. Y ella sí quería. Y ella empezó y ella cuando esta, cuando ella creció y cuando esta crecida se metió a un club de, a un night club. Y ella trabaja como una muchacha que hace chistosas cosas. Y de ahí se va siendo estrella por medio del radio.	She was a bit ugly. The mother didn't want her, the mother didn't put her in a dance group because she didn't want to. And she did want to. And she began and she when she grew up, when she was grown she went into a club, a night club. And she works like a girls who does funny things. And from there she went on being a start because of the radio.

On the task that required Elisa to write about her school or her family, Elisa showed herself to be far more competent than she appeared in the summary passage.

I like to came to the school because a
learn a lot of English.
and I learn to do art home a run
the mile and a do (esperimin) and I learn. Math.
and I learn a lot of things. and I want then
when I be big I have a good job.
another thing they a like to come to the school is
because I have a lot of ~~friends~~ friends.
And because the teaches are very good.

This particular text reflects Elisa's spoken language and her confusion between spoken and written English. The use of *a* for *I* . for example, in

a learn a lot of English
a do (esperimin)

reveals that she produces a schwa-like sound for the pronoun *I* in speaking. She then transcribes this sound both as *a* and *I*. Transfer of native-language syntax is also evident here. Elisa uses an English subjunctive

and I want then when *I be* big

to translate the Spanish subjunctive *(cuando sea grande)*

This text is also characterized by small "errors" that would have passed undetected were one listening to Elisa's rapid speech in English. For example, Elisa wrote:

another thing *they* a like to do
the *teaches* are very good

In rapid speech, these small irregularities in Elisa's English would have been insignificant. An interlocutor speaking to Elisa would probably have "heard":

another thing *that* I like to do
the *teachers* are very good

Given her growing control of the language and her ability to communicate meaning, elements such as these largely went unnoticed in Elisa's speech. However, when writing in response to a task such as that required by Assessment II, Elisa reflected her oral language patterns and simply transcribed what she could say. This resulted in a set of very unique "errors."

Elisa's End-of the Year Profile

In terms of her overall English language proficiency development, in nine months of schooling Elisa had made good progress. Based on Assessment II as well as on the observations of Elisa's language abilities in the classroom, her abilities were rated as follows.

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Intermediate High Able to handle successfully most uncomplicated communicative tasks and social situations. Can initiate. sustain. and close a general; conversation with a number of strategies appropriate to a range of circumstances and topics, but errors are evident. Limited vocabulary still necessitates hesitation and may bring about slightly unexpected circumlocution. There is emerging evidence of connected discourse, particularly for simple narrative and / or description. The Intermediate-High speaker can generally be understood even by interlocutors not accustomed to dealing with speakers at this level, but repetition may still be required.

Listening	Advanced Able to understand main ideas and most details of connected discourse on a variety of topics beyond the immediacy of the situation. Comprehension may be uneven due to a variety of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, among which topic familiarity is very prominent. These texts frequently involve description and narration in different time frames or aspects, such as present, nonpast, habitual, or imperfective. Texts may include interviews, short lectures on familiar topics, and news items and reports primarily dealing with factual information. Listeners aware of cohesive devices but may not be able to use them to follow the sequence of thought in an oral text.
Reading	Intermediate-Mid Able to read consistently with increased understanding simple connected texts dealing with a variety of basic and social needs. Such texts are still linguistically noncomplex and have a clear underlying internal structure. They impart basic information about which the reader has to make minimal suppositions and to which the reader brings personal interest and /or knowledge. Examples may include short, straightforward descriptions of persons, places, and things written for a wide audience.
Writing	Intermediate-Low Able to meet limited practical writing needs. Can write short messages, postcards, and take down simple notes, such as telephone messages. Can create statements or questions within the scope of limited language experience. Material produced consists of recombinations of learned vocabulary and structures into simple sentences on very familiar topics. Language is inadequate to express in writing anything but elementary needs. Frequent errors in grammar, vocabulary, punctuation, spelling and in formation of non alphabetic symbols, but writing can be understood by natives used to the writing of nonnative.
Overall	**Intermediate-Mid**

Manolo Fuentes

Like Elisa, Manolo Fuentes also made good progress in English language development during the nine-month school year. The entire assessment, for example, including the preliminary warm-up sections could be conducted entirely in English. It was obvious that Manolo was able to respond to personal information questions quite ably and to reveal increasing sophistication in his control of English structure. For example:

> G.V.: Good. Tell me about your family. What is your father's name and your mother's name?
> M.F.: My father name is Roberto Fuentes and my mother name is Rosanna.
> G.V.: How many brothers and sisters do you have?
> M.F.: I have one brother, his name is Antonio. And one sister, her name is Bertha.
> G.V.: How old are they?

M.F.: My brother is 18 years old and my sister is 16 years old.
G.V.: Do they go to school?
M.F.: Yea, they go to Hills High School.
G.V.: Where do your parents work?
M.F.: My father work in restaurant; he's a cook. My mother works in a donut field.
G.V.: In where?
M.F.: A donut field. It like a, it's a store when they sell donuts and coffee.
G.V.: Oh, donuts and coffee. Does she work all day long?
M.F.: Uhm.
G.V.: Is she happy?
M.F.: No, she work on a part time. (He's answering the first question G.V. posed)
G.V.: Oh part.
M.F.: And then in the night, she go to the school.
G.V.: Good for her. So tell me what you do everyday?
M.F.: I go to my home. I do my homework. When I don't finish my homework at home, I do it right here in the library. Sometimes I go the park to play basketball or I go with my friend Jorge Rojas. We go to walk and play.

In comparison to his production in response to such questions on Assessment I, here Manolo was able to produce compound sentences and multi-sentence responses. Although his vocabulary limitations were evident when he said that his mother worked in a donut *field*, Manolo experienced little difficulty in both responding to questions and in contributing more information than was strictly requested.

Manolo's performance in the role-playing segment of the examination was less impressive. He tended to follow the interviewer's lead and to contribute as little as possible. Little difference in English language growth was revealed by this segment of Assessment II.

G.V.: Now, remember when we did this last time; we pretended a lot of things. So let's pretend we are in a store and I'm the shopkeeper. You ask me if I have a particular product and ask me how much it costs.
M.F.: Okay. Do you have, uhm, rice? The bag of rice?
G.V.: Rice. A bag of rice. What kind of rice? Do you want long grained rice?
M.F.: Uhm, yes.
G.V.: Yes, I have rice.
M.F.: Okay, how much cost?
G.V.: It's $2.03 for these two pounds.
M.F.: Okay, I take it.
G.V.: You'll take it. Anything else?
M.F.: Candies.
G.V.: Candy, oh yes, what kind of candy?
M.F.: Gum.
G.V.: Gum, okay do you want the sugarless?
M.F.: No.

G.V.: No, you don't want the sugarless gum; it's very good for your teeth the sugarless gum. Sugar is bad for your teeth. It's all right if you want the gum with sugar. Okay, well here is the gum that we have.
M.F.: It's better, the flavor.
G.V.: You like the flavor. So here is the gum.
M.F.: How much is it?

Except for Manolo's response to the interviewer's comment about sugarless gum in which he pointed out the flavor is better in regular gum, there was little to suggest that Manolo had improved significantly in the six months that had passed since he was assessed the first time.

Manolo's response to the academic language assessment revealed that he not only could understand connected discourse well, but that he also could express himself on academic subjects to some degree. The transcribed segment of his response is included below.

G.V.: Okay, what did I tell you about Hawaii? Tell me everything you can remember.
M.F.: Hawaii is like (begins to count the # of islands) eight island. So many people come to Hawaii to enjoy the beach and those things. People in Hawaii in those islands work making sugar and coffee. And these islands are maked from a volcano. And if you fly from California to Hawaii in jet is take like four hours and a half. And by ship, I'm not sure; I don't remember. Honolulu is the capital of Hawaii and is the biggest city in the islands.
G.V.: Good. Anything else you want to tell me. Remember how far away it is from California?
M.F.: No.

Marcos also revealed clear growth in his ability to understand written English and in his ability to talk about what he had read.

G.V.: So tell me, what did you read about Michael Jackson?
M.F.: Michael Jackson was born in 1959. 1958 and he was born in Indiana. And he was only 3 years old, he and his brothers made a team to sing. And because he was so energit (energetic) he was the leader of the group. And then they start singing in nightclub, called the Mr. Lucky. (thinking pause) Then. It's hard to remember.
G.V.: Well, you can look at it (it = written text). You can go ahead and look at it if you want to remember.
M.F.: Then when Michael become older, he was all religion. And one night, they do a concert and he uhm, the concert like, they take all the money from when the people pay to get in; they put together all the money and they have 300 dollars. And then he likes to drink juice and he don't use marijuana or any drugs. Michael Jackson he say if I'll happy I will go to the beach and read a beautiful book or make great music.
G.V.: Good. ¿Qué más te acuerdas en Español?

M.F.: Not too much.
G.V.: Not too much.
M.F.: He enjoyed the music very much. When he was older he got to Hollywood and he was a movie star. And he start meeting people. Like (Liza Minelli) (Taken from notes).

In this example, Manolo was able to return to the text and to skim for details. Moreover, he appeared to be quite proud of his ability to talk about the reading in English, He very pointedly responded in English to the interviewer's Spanish question and added additional details using English as well.

His written summary of the same material was, however, very brief. Using careful longhand, Marcos wrote:

> I like Michael Jackson because I like
> ohw he dance he's very good dancing
> some times I want to dance like him
> And he's good singing too.

His writing about himself offered a somewhat better view of his English language abilities :

> When I came to the U.S. in the airplane I was
> skare because I think it's going to be fun.
> But when you're here it's hard you don't no
> about. The first day when I come to school
> was fun because I can't find the rooms
> it was fun. When I'm in my home it's
> different I do my homework and I go out
> with my bysicle I go out I go very far
> away from by home and I think like a eagle
> I want to fly because I really want to
> fly. In the future I want to worck in the airforce.

Manolo's End-of the Year Profile

In terms of her overall English language proficiency development, in nine months of schooling Manolo had also made good progress. Based on Assessment II as well as on the observations of Manolo's language abilities in the classroom, his abilities were rated as follows.

Level	Description of Abilities
Speaking	Intermediate High Able to handle successfully most uncomplicated communicative tasks and social situations. Can initiate. sustain. and close a general; conversation with a number of strategies appropriate to a range of circumstances and topics, but errors are evident. Limited vocabulary still necessitates hesitation and may bring about slightly unexpected circumlocution. There is emerging evidence of connected discourse, particularly for simple narrative and / or description. The Intermediate-High speaker can generally be understood even by interlocutors not accustomed to dealing with speakers at this level, but repetition may still be required.
Listening	Advanced Able to understand main ideas and most details of connected discourse on a variety of topics beyond the immediacy of the situation. Comprehension may be uneven due to a variety of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, among which topic familiarity is very prominent. These texts frequently involve description and narration in different time frames or aspects, such as present, nonpast, habitual, or imperfective. Texts may include interviews, short lectures on familiar topics, and news items and reports primarily dealing with factual information. Listeners aware of cohesive devices but may not be able to use them to follow the sequence of thought in an oral text.
Reading	Intermediate-Mid Able to read consistently with increased understanding simple connected texts dealing with a variety of basic and social needs. Such texts are still linguistically noncomplex and have a clear underlying internal structure. They impart basic information about which the reader has to make minimal suppositions and to which the reader brings personal interest and /or knowledge. Examples may include short, straightforward descriptions of persons, places, and things written for a wide audience.
Writing	Intermediate-Low Able to meet limited practical writing needs. Can write short messages, postcards, and take down simple notes, such as telephone messages. Can create statements or questions within the scope of limited language experience. Material produced consists of recombinations of learned vocabulary and structures into simple sentences on very familiar topics. Language is inadequate to express in writing anything but elementary needs. Frequent errors in grammar, vocabulary, punctuation, spelling and in formation of nonalphabetic symbols, but writing can be understood by natives used to the writing of nonnatives.
Overall	**Intermediate-Mid**

The Students' English Language Development after the First Year

As the above profiles make clear, after nine months of schooling,[16] the four focal students displayed different levels of English language proficiency in response to the specially designed language assessment procedures used in the study. Two students, Elisa and Manolo, had made good progress in their understanding of spoken English and in their ability to communicate in face to face interaction. They had also grown in their ability to read English language texts. Their writing abilities—while much lower than their proficiencies in listening, speaking, and reading—also reflected some growth.

The two other students, Bernardo and Lilian, made little progress in their acquisition of English. In terms of productive language abilities, our language assessments revealed that both students struggled when responding to even simple personal questions in English. They displayed limited abilities in reading English, and both remained at the lowest levels of English language writing proficiency development. Both students, however, did manifest some growth in their understanding of spoken English.

The English Language Assessment Process during the Second Year

Language Assessment III

The third language assessment was carried out in December, 1992. The procedures followed for Assessment III were similar to those used for Assessments I and II. The oral segment of the procedure still included personal questions and role-playing. This part of the procedure also included a segment designed to assess students' ability to understand connected discourse after an advanced organizer was given. This segment was used only with those students whose listening comprehension abilities appeared to be low. Instructions for this segment read as follows:

> 8. Ability to understand connected discourse after advanced organizer is given.
>
> (Instructions to be given in first Language)
>
> *Note: use only if the child has had trouble understanding all the way along and there has been little progress in English language skills. If the child has been understanding your English instructions in the tasks above, omit this step.*
>
> I am going to tell you about a girl who just arrived in the US. Listen carefully and tell me everything that you remember about her.
>
> I am going to tell you about my car. Listen carefully and tell me five things about my car.

Additionally, Assessment III included two tasks which focused on academic language proficiency. The instructions for these tasks are included below:

---

[16] Five months in the case of Bernardo Salas.

9. Academic language proficiency- Ability to understand explanations/follow directions.

Explain in **English** that you are going to give child directions and that he should follow them. You will have all the appropriate props with you and laid out on the table.
In all cases, do not slow down your speech. Talk exactly as you might to a class you yourself might be teaching.

A. Task 1: Heat

Show child the sheet on heat. Walk him through the explanation and the pictures. Point to things and read aloud the captions and add details.

I am going to tell you about heat and we are going to look at this explanation sheet together. Listen as I explain heat to you. If you have any questions stop me. First of all, what do you know about heat. (Elicit what child already knows).

Okay, now let's see what this tells us about heat. (Read the first segment of text. Check to see if child understood. Continue, tell about the thermometer, point to it. Pause to see if there are questions. Go on to molecules. Point to illustrations of the molecules above each picture. When you are finished ask if there are any questions.

Proceed to the questions in the rectangles. Ask child yes/no questions first. Probe, if you think the child knows the answer. For example, if child does not respond to question to in the yes/no questions, you might ask" What are molecules. What is matter made up of? Let child look at the text as needed.

Proceed to multiple choice questions. Move fairly rapidly. Do not get bogged down. If child appears not to know, tell him the answer and move on.

B. Task II. Listening to a presentation about an American Indian.

Tell child.: Now you are going to hear about a very important American Indian. What I want you to do is to listen carefully and to take notes if you need to. I want you to remember 3 things about this important American Indian.

Proceed to read from text *Listening text for Massasoit*. Make this as much like a natural presentation as you can. Do not use wooden reading expression. Maintain eye contact with child, use intonation and pauses to make text more comprehensible.

When the child is finished., ask: What do you remember about Massasoit? Anything else?

The assessment also required that students produce a written language sample. They were asked to write either about their school or family or about the person that they read about. Students were allowed to select readings from textbooks generally used with advanced ESL students in the content areas (social studies, science).

Results of Language Assessment III

By December of the second year of the study, it was very clear that Bernardo had made some progress in English. He attempted to respond to questions included in the academic language proficiency segment with some limited success:

> GV: I want you to see something. Let's talk a little bit about this and then I'm going to ask you some questions. Heat is a form of energy. And it makes us warm. Heat can also make many things move. Heat is the energy transferred from one object to another object. The thermometer loses heat in the ice-water. The thermometer gains heat from the boiling water. This is a solid, this is a liquid and this is a gas. Look at the molecules. Matter is made up of molecules. In solids, molecules stay in place; in liquids, the molecules move. In gases, the molecules move in all directions. Metals are the best heat conductors because the molecules are close together.
> GV: Does heat keep us cold? Does heat makes us cold or hot?
> BS: Hot.
> GV: Is matter made up of molecules?
> BS: No.
> GV: Do molecules move around in solids?
> BS: Solids, no.
>
> GV: Does the thermometer gain heat from boiling water? Does it gain heat from boiling water?
> BS: (inaudible)
> GV: Is an electric current the movement of molecules?
> BS: No.
> GV: Heat is a form of energy or electricity?
> BS: Energy.
> GV: Electricity or matter is made up of molecules?
> BS: Matter.
> GV: In gases or solids, molecules fly in all directions?
> BS: (no answer)

Bernardo could easily follow the illustrated explanations and captions under each illustration that the interviewer read aloud. However, it was not always clear that he had understood the underlying concepts. The questions used for this segment were taken from a science text designed to be used with ESL students and included only yes/no and multiple-choice questions.

His responses to the text about an American Indian and the first Thanksgiving reflected almost no understanding of the text when it was read aloud. He appeared to understand more of the material when he was asked to read the passage read initially by the interviewer to himself. However, he could not respond to questions about the passage in English and he produced only one answer in Spanish when asked what the passage was about. His answer was vague and did not directly indicate that he had understood the text.

Lilian's performance on Assessment III was even more disappointing than Bernardo's. She appeared distracted and failed to answer even basic personal questions. She appeared confused by the listening comprehension passages on the newly arrived student and the car, and made very little attempt to follow the academic language segments.

Elisa, on the other hand, showed clear growth in her English language development. Responses to personal questions included details not asked for by the interviewer, and answers to the academic language segment indicated that she had the ability to respond to yes/no and multiple-choice questions and to listen for three main ideas contained in a text focusing on social studies.

All three students produced short writing samples. It is to be noted, however, that , since writing was the last part of each assessment, students frequently were eager to be done. Some hurried through the assignment in order to return to their classrooms. The following texts were produced by Bernardo, Lilian and Elisa.

Elisa
Cavesa de Vaca was an a explor hi was born
in 1452. And he came from spain ~~in~~ to find
gold. he died on 1572 and he ~~did'n~~ ~~din'd~~ did't
find ~~enay~~ eney gold and he went to ~~Mecxo~~
Mexico and the Indians took him has a
presioner.

For this summary, Elisa did not have access to the text. She wrote from memory and was obviously struggling with getting the facts correctly. Compared with her summary of the Barbara Streisand text done for the second assessment, this text reflects significant growth. While she struggles with spelling and tries various different forms, her text is clearly comprehensible.

Lilian
My Name is lilian A likA school
A like work. Me gusta tener amigas
tanbien megusta cosinar me gusta ser
travajos soy Amistosa megusta Ayudar
alajente the school is mach bere Alike
the teacher Alike de people en Alike de 1 boy

Lilian's writing also shows growth although she uses a combination of English and Spanish in her text. Once again, she writes about the things she likes, but this time is able to communicate several complete thoughts using written English. She is still using Spanish spelling conventions to write in English (*mache bere* for *much better*), and her writing directly reflects her spoken English (*Alike* for *I like*, and *en Alike* for *and I like*. It is interesting to note that in using the capital A for *Alike* consistently, Lilian shows awareness of the fact that the term, in English, that is used to refer to oneself is capitalized.

Bernardo Mi name is Bernardo Salas have 13 I'm lake play soccer. Mi love fathe, mothe, sisters counsin and uncle.

Bernardo's text is still quite primitive, but nevertheless also reflects growth. He is no longer simply listing words in English. He is clearly writing memorized materials including short phrases and words.

On the basis of this assessment and on the basis of observations carried out during the first half of the second year of the study, the English language abilities of the three focal students available for testing were rated as follows:

Level	Elisa	Lilian	Bernardo
Speaking	Advanced	Novice Low	Novice Low
Listening	Advanced	Novice Mid	Novice Mid
Reading	Intermediate-Mid	Novice Mid	Novice Mid
Writing	Intermediate-Low	Novice Mid	Novice Mid
Overall	**Intermediate-Mid**	**Novice Mid**	**Novice Mid**

On the basis of observations and the assessment of his ESL teacher, Manolo's abilities were rated as follows:

Level	Manolo
Speaking	Intermediate-High
Listening	Advanced
Reading	Intermediate-High
Writing	Intermediate-Low
Overall	**Intermediate-Mid**

Language Assessment IV

The fourth language assessment was carried out in May, 1993. The procedures followed for Assessment IV were similar to those used for the three previous assessments. The oral segment of the procedure still included personal questions and role-playing. This part of the procedure once again included a segment designed to assess students' ability to understand connected discourse after an advanced organizer was given. This segment was used only with Bernardo and Lilian and is included below.

8. Ability to understand connected discourse after advanced organizer is given. in First Language

Note: use only if the child has had trouble understanding all the way along and there has been little progress in English language skills. If the child has been understanding your English instructions in the tasks above, omit this step.

I am going to tell you about a girl who just arrived in the US. Listen carefully and tell me everything that you remember about her. NOTE YOU CAN USE CHILD'S FIRST LANGUAGE TO GIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

Martha Garrido is 13 years old. She just arrived from Mexico. She is from a small town in the state of Coahuila. Her father has been in California for three years. He works for a construction company. He speaks a little bit of English and understands a lot.

Martha's mother 's name is Estela. She works for a car washing company. She does not speak English yet.

Martha has a brother and a sister. Her brother is seventeen. He goes to Washington High School. Martha's sister is eight years old. She goes to Rio Elementary School.

Martha likes her school and her friends. Her best friend's name is Rosaura.

I am going to tell you about Jorge and his car. Listen carefully and tell me five things you remember about Jorge and his car.

Jorge has a new car. It is a red and white Toyota. Jorge paid over $1000 for his car. He worked every summer and he saved his money.

The car is a 1975 model. It has a new radio and it runs very well. Jorge likes his car very much. He washes the car every Sunday morning and then he takes his girlfriend Rebecca to church. He drives very carefully because he does not want to have an accident.

Assessment IV also included a segment designed to obtain information about students familiarity with school-related vocabulary and was also used exclusively with Bernardo and Lilian.

9. Academic language proficiency- Ability to display knowledge of common vocabulary categories.

A. Tell me the colors in English.

B. Count by tens to 100.

C. Write down the numbers that I dictate to you. Write only figures, not words

15, 26, 78, 92, 31, 180, 457, 88, 640

D. Tell me the months of the year.

E. Tell me the days of the week.

F. Name five things that you see in the classroom.

G. Name five things that you see in your home.

Finally, Assessment IV required that students demonstrate proficiency in reading and making sense of written text. Using material from the materials in regular middle school social studies courses, students were asked to choose two lessons, to conjecture about content, and to attempt to read. Directions for conducting this part of the assessment read as follows:

10. Reading and making sense of written text.

Using the Chamot material, choose two lessons and have child conjecture about content and then attempt to read. Tap background knowledge. Ask appropriate questions if child's explanation do not make it obvious that he/she understands.

Results of Language Assessment IV

Both Bernardo and Lilian's assessments revealed that their English language abilities had continued to improve slowly. Even though the productive abilities of both students continued to be limited—even in answering personal information questions—their receptive abilities showed marked improvement.

Lilian

Lilian, for example, understood both passages including in the listening comprehension segment quite well. She provided a summary of each passage as requested using Spanish and was able to also answer a number of other questions about the information given.

A sample of Lilian's English responses to personal questions is included below:

GV: Tell us your name.
LD: My name is Lilian Duque.
GV: Do you have brothers and sisters?
LD: Yea.
GV: How many?
LD: Brothers is three and sister three.
GV: What are there names and ages?
LD: Juan Carlos 17 and my sister Ada Alicia
GV: How old is she?
LD: 16.
GV: And then?
LD: Me
GV: And then you and you are?
LD: 14 and my sister Trina.
GV: And how old is she?
LD: Two years. And my brother Lucas have ten years, and other Samuel is ten.
GV: They're twins. What does your mother do? Does she work?
LD: Yea. Clean the house.
GV: How about your father?
LD: Is work at yards.

While limited, Lilian's responses reveal that she understood the questions asked of her. Her ability to comprehend rapid spoken English was also demonstrated when she summarized the information contained in the two listening passages that were read to her. Lilian summarized these passages in Spanish as follows:

GV: ¿De qué te acuerdas? (What do you remember?)
LD: De que ella vino aquí a los Estados Unidos y su papá estaba viviendo aquí tres años y estaba trabajando en una compañía. Y su mamá trabajaba en "dish washing", no bueno, trabajaba ella también Y no sabía hablar inglés. Y su hermano tenía 17 años y iba a la high school y iba a la escuela y le gustaba mucho. Le gustaba tener amigas, y no me acuerdo como se llamaba. (That she came here to the U.S. and her father had been living here three years and was working for a company. And her mother worked in dish washing, no, well, she worked too. And she didn't speak English. And her brother was 17 and she went to high school and she went to school and liked it a lot. She liked to have friends and I don't remember what her name was.)
GV: Good. I'm going to tell you about Jorge and his car. Listen carefully and tell me five things.
LD: Carlos, Jorge tenía su carro era rojo y azul y el carro estaba muy bonito. Tenía radio. Y la novia del (under her breath) Y le costó cuanto? (Carlos, Jorge had a car that was red and blue; the car was very pretty. It had a radio. His girlfriend (unclear) and how much did it cost?)
GV: A thousand dollars.

In both cases, there were details that she did not recount accurately, however, it was evident that Lilian was able to get the gist of both passage and to recall a number of essential elements.

Lilian was far less successful in the next segment of the assessment. She could understand some of the numbers dictated to her, but confused fifty with fifteen, eighty with eighteen, and did not seem to have had much experience with numbers over one hundred. She knew some of the months of the year, and could name many objects found in the classroom, but not at home. She attempted to make sense of the reading material (a text that focused on regions and weather and was illustrated with maps and charts), but her performance reflected the fact that she had not been taught to guess intelligently in context or to use background knowledge to hypothesize about content.

Overall, Lilian showed little growth in her development of English reading abilities. She was also unable to work with math materials presented to her and to state what specific word problems (simple addition and subtraction) required for solution.

Unfortunately, no writing sample was obtained from Lilian as a part of Assessment IV. She offered an excuse for not writing (She stated that her head was beginning to hurt.), and asked to be returned to the classroom. This was unfortunate because Lilian wrote only at the controlled sentence-level in her class, and we were unable to obtain an example of her writing that paralleled our previously gathered materials. Because of the lack of attention given to writing in the ESL Newcomer program in which she was enrolled, however, we knew that Lilian had made little progress in writing in English.

At the end of the second year of the study, then, Lilian's English language proficiency was rated as follows:

Level	Lilian
Speaking	Novice-Mid Oral production continues to consist of isolated and learned phrases within very predictable areas of need, although quantity is increased. Vocabulary is sufficient only for handling simple, elementary needs and expression basic courtesies. Utterances rarely consist of more than two or three words and show frequent long pauses and repetition of interlocutor's words. Speaker may have some difficulty producing even the simplest utterances. Some Novice-mid speakers will be understood only with great difficulty.
Listening	Novice High Able to understand short, learned utterances and some sentence-length utterances, particularly where context strongly supports understanding and speech is clearly audible. Comprehends words and phrases from simple questions, statements, high-frequency commands and courtesy formulae. May require repetition, rephrasing and/or a slowed rate of speech for comprehension.

Reading	Novice Mid Able to recognize the symbols of an alphabetic and/or syllabic writing system and /or a limited number o characters in a system that uses characters. The reader can identify an increasing number of highly contextualized words and/or phrases including cognates and borrowed words, where appropriate. Material understood rarely exceeds a single phrase at a time, and rereading may be required.
Writing	Unknown but unlikely to be higher than Novice Mid Able to copy or transcribe familiar words or phrases and reproduce some from memory. No practical communicative writing skills.
Overall	**Novice Mid**

Bernardo

As compared with Lilian, Bernardo's ability to produce spoken English was somewhat more limited. He responded to the segment including personal questions with many pauses and hesitations, and appeared to be quite uncomfortable in responding in English. However, in most cases, it was evident that he could understand the questions being asked of him and that he could understand most questions asked of him.

Like Lilian, Bernardo was able to give a Spanish summary of each of the listening comprehension passages. His Spanish summaries were similar to Lilian's in that he selected a few key details to recall and recount. There were other details that he did not attend to and did not recall even when questioned (e.g., cost of the car mentioned in the passage.)

As compared to Lilian, however, Bernardo could name colors, count by tens, and write figures for numbers dictated to him. He could also give the days of the week, the months, and name objects that are seen in the classroom. Like Lilian, Bernardo had trouble naming objects that were found in his home.

Bernardo, on the other hand, was quite successful in working with the English language reading texts presented to him. He responded to questions about weather included in the passage, and summarized key ideas in the text stating, for example, that the polar regions were cold and the tropical regions hot He also understood and stated that different climates cause people to work in different ways.

Bernardo also read quickly through the English language word problems presented in the math text given to him and was able to determine what operation was needed in order to find the solution. Even though the materials used to test students' abilities to read math texts were quite simple and involved only addition and subtraction, it was evident the Bernardo felt quite comfortable in working with these particular math problems in English.

The following writing sample was obtained from Bernardo as part of Assessment IV.

My name is Bernardo. I like play
soccer I have 14 yers Hold from Mixico city
I like swiming I have hair black
leg bit My skin is ~~branu~~ braunw
I like the movie vethoven and the movie
colors my father I have

As will be noted, Bernardo includes much more information about himself in this sample than had been included in his previous writing.

As a result of this assessment, Bernardo's English language abilities were rated as follows:

Level	**Bernardo**
Speaking	Novice Mid Oral production continues to consist of isolated and learned phrases within very predictable areas of need, although quantity is increased. Vocabulary is sufficient only for handling simple, elementary needs and expression basic courtesies. Utterances rarely consist of more than two or three words and show frequent long pauses and repetition of interlocutor's words. Speaker may have some difficulty producing even the simplest utterances. Some Novice-mid speakers will be understood only with great difficulty.
Listening	Novice High Able to understand short, learned utterances and some sentence-length utterances, particularly where context strongly supports understanding and speech is clearly audible. Comprehends words and phrases from simple questions, statements, high-frequency commands and courtesy formulae. May require repetition, rephrasing and/or a slowed rate of speech for comprehension
Reading	Novice High Has sufficient control of the writing system to interpret written language in areas of practical need. Where vocabulary has been learned, can read for instructional and directional purposes standardized messages, phrases or expressions, such as some items on menus, schedules, timetables, maps, and signs. At times, but not on a consistent basis, the Novice-High level reader may be able to derive meaning from material at a slightly higher level where context and or extra linguistic background knowledge are supportive.

Writing	Novice High Able to write simple fixed expressions and limited memorized material and some recombinations thereof. Can supply information as well as some short phrases and simple lists. Can write all the symbols in an alphabetic or syllabic system or 50-100 characters of compounds in a character writing system. Spelling and representation of symbols (letters, syllables, characters) may be partially correct.
Overall	**Novice High**

Elisa

As expected, Elisa's performance on Assessment IV revealed that she made impressive progress in her English language development. She confidently answered all personal questions and added personal comments and elaborations. She was successful in role-playing a customer at a store, a customer at a restaurant and a patient in a hospital emergency room. She read all materials presented to her with ease and provided summaries of content contained therein.

The writing sample produced for this assessment is included below.

My Ideal Day

I woke up on Saturday morning, it was cold and dark. I had breakfast with my sister, mom and dad. I knew that that day I was going to have fun. My mom and dad were getting ready to go to work and my sister to go out with her friends.

When everybody had already left it was about six-thirty a.m. I started getting ready. I went in the shower and spent 30 minutes. When I got out of the shower it was about 7: 00 AM. I put lotion all over my body and put on my favorite underwear, pair of jeans, T.shirt, jacket and pair of shoes, I was feeling fresh and clean, I guess I was ready.

I phoned my friend Rolando to tell him that I was ready. I wait for him for ten minutes. When I saw him coming, I saw a big limosine too. He asked me; "do you want to come in"? I said yes.

We went to San Francisco, we stay there for almost two hour. There we ate another funer breakfast.

I asked him if he wanted to go shopping with me. He answer yes. We went to almost all the malls in San

Francisco. We spent almost all morning
and part of the afternoon shopping.
Then we went for a big dinner at Sizzler.

It will be noted that Elisa's writing changed dramatically between December and June. In December, when asked to write about a reading on Caveza de Baca, Elisa wrote a tentative, very short piece that did not in any way foreshadow the tremendous growth in writing ability seen here. However, it is important to point out that the text Elisa produced during Assessment IV is not an entirely spontaneous piece of writing. Elisa had been working on several versions of a similar piece of writing for quite some time. Since we had collected copies of these versions from her, we were able to determine that the text produced for us had already gone through a pre-writing as well as a drafting and revision stage. Elisa wrote for us another version of a piece on which she had already spent a great deal of time.

To mention that Elisa was not writing totally spontaneously in response to a prompt that we gave her is not to suggest that she did not make great progress in her ability to communicate in writing in English. Since we allowed her to choose her own topic, she was able to use ideas that she had been working on in other writing and did not face the difficulties students always encounter when asked to write on a new topic for a limited amount of time under testing conditions. Indeed, as the analysis of Elisa's writing development included in the next section of this report will make clear, Elisa's ability to write in English at the end of a two year period was indeed impressive.

Given the information obtained as a result of Assessment IV as well as the information gained from classroom observations and the examination of writing products, Elisa's English language proficiency was rated as follows:

Level	Elisa
Speaking	Advanced-Plus Able to satisfy the requirements of a broad variety of everyday, school, and work situations. Can discuss concrete topics relating to particular interests and special fields of competence. There is emerging evidence of ability to support opinions, explain in detail, and hypothesize. The Advanced-Plus speaker often shows a well developed ability to compensate for an imperfect grasp of some forms with confident use of communicative strategies, such as paraphrasing and circumlocution. Differentiated vocabulary and intonation are effectively used to communicate fine shades of meaning. The Advanced-Plus speaker often shows remarkable fluency and ease of speech but under the demands of Superior-level, complex tasks, language may break down and prove inadequate.
Listening	Advanced-Plus Able to understand the main ideas of most speech in a standard dialect; however, the listener may not be able to sustain comprehension in extended discourse which is propositionally and linguistically complex. Listener shows an emerging awareness of culturally implied meanings beyond the surface meanings of the text but may fail to grasp sociocultural nuances of the message.

Reading	Intermediate-High Able to read consistently with full understanding simple connected texts , dealing with basic personal and social needs about which the reader has personal interest and /or knowledge. Can get some main ideas and information from texts at the next higher level featuring description and narration. Structural complexity may interfere with comprehension; for example, basic grammatical relations may be misinterpreted and temporal references may rely primarily on lexical items. Has some difficulty with the cohesive factors in discourse, such as matching pronouns with referents. While texts do not differ significantly from those at the Advanced level, comprehension is less consistent. May have to read material several times for understanding.
Writing	Intermediate-High Able to meet most practical writing needs and limited social demands. Can take notes in some detail on familiar topics and respond in writing to personal questions. Can write simple letters, brief synopses and paraphrases, summaries of biographical data, work and school experience. In those languages relying primarily on content words and time expressions to express time, tense, or aspect, some precision is displayed; where tense and/ or aspects is expressed through verbal inflection, forms are produced rather consistently, but not always accurately. An ability to describe and narrate in paragraphs is emerging. Rarely uses basic cohesive elements, such as pronominal substitutions or synonyms in written discourse. Writing, though faulty, is generally comprehensible to natives used to the writing of nonnatives.
Overall	**Advanced**

Manolo

As was the case for Assessment III, Manolo did not agree to participate in Assessment IV. However, on the basis of observations conducted and on his ESL teacher's comments about his developing proficiencies, Manolo's English language profile was drawn as follows:

Level	Manolo
Speaking	Advanced Able to satisfy the requirements of everyday situations and routine school and work requirements. Can handle with confidence but not with facility complicated tasks and social situations, such as elaborating, complaining, and apologizing. Can narrate and describe with some details, linking sentences together smoothly. Can communicate facts and talk casually about topics of current public and personal interest, using general vocabulary. Shortcoming can often be smoothes over by communicative strategies, such as pause fillers, stalling devices, and different rates of speech. Circumlocution which arises from vocabulary or syntactic limitations very often is quite successful, though some groping for words may still be evident. The Advanced level speaker can be understood without difficulty by native interlocutors.

Listening	Advanced Able to understand main ideas and most details of connected discourse on a variety of topics beyond the immediacy of the situation. Comprehension bay be uneven due to a variety of linguistic and extra linguistic factors, among which topic familiarity is very prominent. These texts frequently involve description and narration in different time frames or aspects, such as present, nonpast, habitual or imperfective Texts may include interviews, short lectures on familiar topics, and news items and reports primarily dealing with factual information. Listener is aware of cohesive devices but may not be able to sue them to follow the sequence of thought in an oral text.
Reading	Intermediate-High Able to read consistently with full understanding simple connected texts dealing with basic personal and social needs about which the reader has personal interest and /or knowledge. Can get some main ideas and information from texts at the next higher level featuring description and narration. Structural complexity may interfere with comprehension; for example, basic grammatical relations may be misinterpreted and temporal references may rely primarily on lexical items. Has some difficulty with the cohesive factors in discourse, such as matching pronouns with referents. While texts do not differ significantly from those at the Advanced level, comprehension is less consistent. May have to read material several times for understanding.
Writing	Intermediate-High Able to meet most practical writing needs and limited social demands. Can take notes in some detail on familiar topics and respond in writing to personal questions. Can write simple letters, brief synopses and paraphrases, summaries of biographical data, work and school experience. In those languages relying primarily on content words and time expressions to express time, tense, or aspect, some precision is displayed; where tense and/ or aspects is expressed through verbal inflection, forms are produced rather consistently, but not always accurately. An ability to describe and narrate in paragraphs is emerging. Rarely uses basic cohesive elements, such as pronominal substitutions or synonyms in written discourse. Writing, though faulty, is generally comprehensible to natives used to the writing of nonnatives.
Overall	**Intermediate High**

The Focal Students' English Language Development after Two Years

As the above profiles make clear, after two years of schooling, the four focal students demonstrated different levels of English language development. Two of the students (Manolo and Elisa) made remarkable growth in English. Two other students (Bernardo and Lilian) developed much more slowly. Seen over time, however, all four students demonstrated different rates of growth in the four language modalities. The following summary profiles illustrate each student's changing proficiencies during the two year period.

Of the four students, Elisa made the most progress. She began at the true novice level but moved quickly to the *intermediate-mid* level for the second assessment. Her listening skills, in particular, developed very quickly. Her speaking ability also grew quite rapidly. Her reading and writing abilities, however, lagged behind. They stayed at the *intermediate mid* and *low* levels until the latter half of the second year. At that time,

all four skills showed remarkable growth, especially her reading and writing abilities. Elisa's English language development over the two year period is summarized in the chart below.

Elisa

Level	Assessment 1	Assessment II	Assessment III	Assessment IV
Speaking	Novice-Low	Intermediate-High	Advanced	Advanced-Plus
Listening	Novice High	Advanced	Advanced	Advanced-Plus
Reading	Novice Mid	Intermediate-Mid	Intermediate-Mid	Intermediate-High
Writing	Novice Mid	Intermediate-Low	Intermediate-Low	Intermediate-High
Overall	**Novice Mid**	**Intermediate-Mid**	**Intermediate-Mid**	**Advanced**

Compared to Elisa, Manolo's English developed much more rapidly in the first months after his arrival in this country. He was rated as *intermediate low* after the first assessment. He grew quite consistently during the first year. During the second year, however, his growth appeared to slow down somewhat. However, since his abilities were not formally assessed, the following profile cannot be considered definitive. It was constructed from observations of his performance in class as well as from teacher judgments about his abilities.

Manolo

Level	Assessment 1	Assessment II	Assessment III	Assessment IV
Speaking	Intermediate-Low	Intermediate-High	Intermediate-High	Advanced
Listening	Intermediate Low	Advanced	Advanced	Advanced
Reading	Intermediate-low	Intermediate-Mid	Intermediate-High	Intermediate-High
Writing	Novice-Mid	Intermediate-Low	Intermediate-Low	Intermediate-High
Overall	**Intermediate-low**	**Intermediate-Mid**	**Intermediate-Mid**	**Intermediate High**

Lilian, like Elisa, began her first months of schooling in the United States almost at zero English. She was assessed as *novice low* after the first assessment and as *novice mid* after the second assessment. It is interesting to note that after transferring to a new school, Lilian appeared to stagnate. She made little measurable progress in her English language abilities until the fourth assessment. At that time, she was again rated as *novice mid*, but she had made considerable progress in listening comprehension.

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Lilian

Level	Assessment 1	Assessment II	Assessment III	Assessment IV
Speaking	Novice Low	Novice Mid	Novice Low	Novice Mid
Listening	Novice Mid	Novice High	Novice Mid	Novice High
Reading	Novice Low	Novice Mid	Novice Mid	Novice Mid
Writing	Novice Low modified	Novice Mid	Novice Mid	Unknown but unlikely to be higher than Novice Mid
Overall	**Novice Low**	**Novice Mid**	**Novice Mid**	**Novice Mid**

Like Lilian, Bernardo began almost at zero when he entered Garden School in January of the first year of the study. He had made little progress by the time that the second assessment was administered in May. By the first part of the second year, however, Bernardo began to develop his English abilities somewhat, and by the end of the second year, he could be rated as *novice high*.

Bernardo

Level	Assessment 1	Assessment II	Assessment III	Assessment IV
Speaking	Not assessed	Novice Low	Novice Low	Novice-Mid
Listening		Novice Mid	Novice Mid	Novice High
Reading		Novice Low	Novice Mid	Novice High
Writing		Novice Low-modified	Novice Mid	Novice High
Overall		**Novice low**	**Novice Mid**	**Novice High**

As compared to Elisa and Manolo, both Lilian and Bernardo made little progress. It took them two years to reach the levels attained by Manolo during the first assessment period.

In the section that follows, the progress made by each of the focal students will be discussed as at some depth and an attempt will be made to account for the differences found among the four students.

THE STUDENTS AND THEIR BACKGROUNDS

The differences in English language proficiencies among the four focal students, all of whom were in the same NEP class originally, raise important and interesting questions. All four of the students started at almost zero English, but they developed in very different ways. Two students (Bernardo and Lilian) acquired little English during a two-year period, and two students (Manolo and Elisa) became quiet fluent speakers of the language. At the end of the study, the same two students who had acquired little spoken English had developed almost no abilities to write in English; while the two fluent speakers could write well enough in English to participate in selected mainstream classes.

The differences among the students were evident quite early in the study. For example, both Elisa and Manolo received better grades in the ESL class and in most of their other sheltered classes than did Bernardo and Lilian. Both Manolo and Elisa were generally well thought of by their teachers. Manolo, for example, was generally identified during most of the first year as a bright student who was quiet and attentive. Like Manolo, Elisa was also generally well liked by most of her teachers. The fact that Elisa's mother spoke English and often visited the school made Elisa different from the other students. Except for Mrs. Wallace, who was not particularly impressed with Elisa's performance in class, most of Elisa's teachers (math, science, cooking) saw her as bright, hardworking, and heads above the other students.

Lilian, on the other hand, was the direct opposite of both Manolo and Elisa. She daydreamed in class, was openly bored, and completed her assignments minimally. Since she was quite pretty, she attracted the attention of many boys. This inevitably led to problems with other girls, problems that resulted in fights and name-calling even in the classroom itself. Lilian had little interest in her classes and was quite caught up in being an attractive young adolescent.

In comparison to Lilian, Bernardo was quiet and withdrawn. He was at zero English when he arrived, he had limited access to instruction. During the first year, he spent most of his time filling in dittos, coloring pictures, and working in the lowest group with Mrs. Maphy. This group instruction with the instructional aide generally focused on isolated vocabulary items and on copying long vocabulary lists. In the entire time that we visited the classroom, we saw no evidence of instruction directed at developing listening comprehension skills or reading comprehension skills. Little or no attention was given to the development of oral skills either. Students did not engage in repetition or production of high frequency English phrases (e.g., What's your name? Where do you live?) in any form. In a very real sense, from September to June 1992, Bernardo experienced total isolation from both subject matter and English. The little English that he heard was in no way sufficient to allow him to begin to acquire the language.

In theory, for all four of the students, the ESL program was expected to provide them with instruction in English and with the support needed while they acquired the language so that they might easily enter the mainstream academic courses in their schools. Except in the case of Manolo's experience at J.F.K. School where the principal objective of the program was to help students to develop academic language skills, ESL programs seemed to take on a life of their own and to become self-contained academic tracks. Students were moved slowly through largely grammar-based instruction and

were considered to be "good" students if they did the work expected of them in class (e.g., wrote single sentences, filled in worksheets, etc.). Teachers had little awareness of the "real life English skills" of their students, of their ability to function in classes taught in English, or of their reading proficiency.

For example, when Manolo began to seem disinterested in Mrs. Wallace's class at the end of the first year of the study, it was evident to us that he was bored with the simple sentence-level activities that went on for three periods of the school day. However, when we suggested to Mrs. Wallace that he might be ready to move ahead, she rejected our suggestion that he be moved up to the Advanced LEP class the following year. She insisted that Manolo was not exceptional and that he should move only to next step in the LEP sequence. Because he had not covered the materials used in the regular LEP class, he could not possibly be advanced to the highest level. It did not matter that Manolo could read quite well, that he understood spoken English, and that he was doing well in class that required him to work in English . What mattered is whether or not he had "covered" the vocabulary and structures included in the *New Horizons* series.

By the end of the year, Elisa, like Manolo, was quite bored with the ESL class, with the repetitiveness of the material, and with the absence of content in the activities carried out in class. Because of this, we also suggested to Mrs. Wallace that Elisa be allowed to move up. Unfortunately, as in the case of Manolo, Mrs. Wallace insisted that Elisa needed to cover the ESL materials before she was allowed to move forward.

Similarly, at Crenshaw, Lilian was also caught up in the intricacies of the support structure of ESL. At her new school she heard much more connected English discourse than she had at Garden School, but the program also failed to take advantage of the academic skills Lilian brought with her. No attempt was made to use her existing reading skills in Spanish to teach her to read for cognates, to guess at meaning, and to skim and scan. In short, no attempt was made to help her develop the skills of academic reading. She was placed in a program that assumed she would develop reading skills as native-English-speaking children do, that is, by using basal readers and by reading simple stories about imaginary animals.

For all four focal students, then, the ESL programs they were placed in left much to be desired. Manolo and Elisa acquired English in spite of and not because of the direct instruction they received. Bernardo, who was quiet and frequently absent, lost confidence in his academic abilities. During the two years of the study, he learned little English and had little access to the curriculum. Lilian too had little access to the curriculum. However, she learned to take advantage of the system and to do little. She resisted even the excellent individualized math instruction provided in her Newcomer class.

Student Backgrounds

There were important differences among the four focal students—differences that had to do with family background, with circumstances that led to their leaving their home countries, and with their hopes about what they could accomplish in this country. Manolo's father, for example, was an ambitious and hard-working man who had held a lower middle-class job in Mexico. He was determined to succeed in this country and thus worked two jobs in two different restaurants. Manolo's mother—although largely self-educated—was also a sophisticated urban dweller who had spent most of her life in

Mexico City and who was eager to learn English. During the first year of the study, she attended both morning and evening ESL classes and deliberately sat with Asian students in both classes in order to force herself to speak English. Even though the family did not speak English at home, Manolo had other relatives in the area who spoke English fluently.

Elisa also had access to English outside school. Her mother, who had been here six years, was an energetic and ambitious single woman who worked both in an electronics assembly plant and in taking care of an invalid senior citizen. She communicated easily in English and had learned a series of phrases that gave her interlocutors the impression that she had an excellent control of the language. She frequently spoke to her daughters in English and insisted that they watch only English language television. Her boyfriend, a computer technician who also spoke good English, was available to help both Elisa and her sister with their homework.

Bernardo and Lilian's families were very different. No one in their families spoke English. They came from poor, rural, working-class backgrounds in Mexico, and here they were employed in occupations (e.g., yard work, cleaning houses) where they had little access to English. Neither family had relatives who had been in the United States for a significant period of time. As opposed to Elisa's and Manolo's families, these two families were struggling to survive, to keep food on the table and to pay rent. They often had to call on the older children to baby sit with younger siblings or even to take over a day's work (i.e., doing yard work or cleaning houses) for a sick parent. There was no one available at home to help with homework, and there was little understanding in both families about how American schools worked.

In the section that follows, I will compare the family lives of the two female focal students, Elisa and Lilian, in order to illustrate the challenges and difficulties that these young people faced.

Lilian and Elisa

When the research team first saw Lilian, I must admit that we had to look twice. The new sixth grader was very blond and very blue eyed, and if I had seen her walking in the corridor and not in the NEP classroom, I would have assumed that she was a local youngster of European-American extraction. Lilian was then twelve, big for her age, and quite aware of her effect on the young male students in the class. She was from a small village in the state of Jalisco, close to the city of Guadalajara, an interesting part of Mexico where many individuals have Lilian's coloring. The village from which Lilian came is a small one, and Lilian had never traveled to even the county seat a few miles away. She knew about Guadalajara because many of the villagers went there to work for periods of time. But in general, in Mexico, this twelve-year-old had been a little girl. She played, and ran, and went to school. She did not consider herself to be a newly budding adolescent. And she had apparently been happy wading in the creek, riding an old mule, and just being a child. She was very homesick when we first talked, and she missed the smells of her village as well as her friends.

Lilian was the third in a family that included a brother 17, a sister 14, and twin brothers who were then 10 years old. Since their arrival in the United States, Lilian's mother Sonia had just given birth to a new baby girl.

It will be recalled that when we assessed Lilian's English abilities, they were indeed close to zero. She knew a few words of English, *dog*, *cat*, *ice cream*, but she it was apparent that she understood very little. Her reading and writing abilities in Spanish were, however, much better than I expected. Lilian had been in fifth grade in Mexico, and she read aloud quite competently in the sing-song style typical of some rural schools. But she did read and she did understand what she read. She could also write in Spanish although words were not properly segmented (a major problem for young people learning to write in Spanish). When I gave her an English young people's magazine and a science text with many pictures, Lilian tried to apply her word attack skills in Spanish in order to read in English. Of course, the words made no sense. However, when instructed to do so, Lilian was also able to hypothesize about what the articles were about and about what they probably said by using her real world knowledge. She could also (when taught how to do so) skim for cognates and also make hypothesis about larger text meaning based on the use of such familiar words. In sum, Lilian brought with her important reading and writing abilities. She confided, however, that she had not been a very good student in Mexico, and that she did not like her last teacher because she punished them often.

In comparison to Lilian, thirteen year old Elisa was small and dark-complected. Her high cheekbones and very straight black hair reflected her Indian heritage. Elisa was from Honduras, also from a small village, and also newly arrived. She and her sister Erlinda (12) had been living with their grandmother for the past eight years. Their mother Magda, had finally been able to send for the two girls.

Elisa, like Lilian, was also homesick. She missed her grandmother, her school, and the places that they went to in Honduras. Like Lilian, in Honduras, Elisa was not aware that she was an emergent teen. She was a child and treated like a child by her grandmother and the rest of the family as well as by teachers at school. Elisa recalled that she liked school in Honduras and that what she missed most was not being able to go home at noon, have lunch and then return at 2:00 p.m. for the afternoon session that ended at 5:00 p.m. In her new American school, the days seemed incredibly short. When school ended, both Elisa and her sister would walk home where they would spend the rest of the afternoon and evening alone, waiting for their mother who worked a late night shift. Both girls were very lonely, and often days would pass before they really saw their mother.

In Honduras, Elisa had completed sixth grade. Elisa's reading skills were noticeably stronger than Lilian's, but her writing abilities appeared to be much the same. This is not surprising, because the new emphasis on writing is only now beginning to be discussed among the scholarly community in Mexico and Central America. It has not yet become a pedagogical focus. Much as it used to be here not too long ago, for Elisa and Lilian, writing was primarily used for copying assignments, for copying texts and perhaps for taking dictations. Original composing was very rarely done.

Like Lilian, Elisa knew very little English when we first assessed her proficiency. She could say more words in English than could Lilian, and she could respond to questions like *what is your name, what is your mother's name*, etc. She could not, of course, formulate those same questions herself. Elisa commented that English was very important to her mother. By now, Magda spoke English quite well and insisted that both her children watch only English language television when they were at home. Often Magda would

speak to the children in English herself telling them to close the door, to go to bed, to wash the dishes, etc. Elisa was eager to learn English words and to please her mother.

Elisa and Lilian at School

Both Elisa and Lilian made friends at school. After the initial culture shock, they appeared to adjust nicely. Both girls liked their teachers very much. Elisa even grew angry when other students were disrespectful. She could not understand why other children behaved the way they did. She paid careful attention in class, worked hard on her projects—whatever they were—and was very serious about making a good impression.

Lilian, on the other hand, seemed to enjoy social interactions with her peers more than making a good impression on her teachers. She was frequently late for school in the morning, and in class, she often seemed distracted and a little bored. Elisa was placed in the middle NEP group early in the year, while Lilian remained with the lowest group the entire nine months of her first year in the United States.

The Community and the Homes

The community where most of the immigrant families have settled is at some distance from the school. It is made up of blocks and blocks of two story apartment complexes. Several families occupy single-family apartments, and dozens of young children play in the run-down playground areas. The mothers who stay at home and their young children have little contact with English-speaking individuals. When school-age children and husbands come home, they too speak little English.

Lilian and her family live in a particularly crowded apartment complex on a short dead end street. The street is full of old and dilapidated cars, and often clusters of men stand outside one or another of the buildings and talk and laugh. These are the men who don't have jobs, and who most days will walk several miles to congregate on the corner of a busy street hoping that they will be hired for a few hours or an entire day to dig ditches, or build fences, or whatever else will allow them to earn money for their families.

Lilian lives in a three-bedroom apartment that is shared by two families and other relatives. This includes Lilian's family of eight, her dad's brother, his wife and their child, and two male adult cousins who are single. A total of thirteen persons share a single bathroom.

Lilian's father, Tito, has been in the United States for almost ten years. He is here legally and works for a gardening service. He has lived the life of a cyclical migrant; that is, over a number of years he has gone back and forth to Mexico. Usually, he spent several seasons in his village and then returned to work in the Bay Area.

In 1991, Tito was finally able to bring his entire family to the Bay Area. A new baby was born when the family arrived, and the children were soon enrolled in school. The children, however, had not lived with their father in a very long time. They had to get used to him again, and he, in turn, had to learn how to be a parent in this country. Needless to say, there were many tensions and problems in the family.

Sonia, Lilian's mother is a pretty woman who after only a few short months here began to understand how different life was from life in Mexico. She learned that her husband's salary could not stretch to pay the eight- hundred -dollar -a -month rent for

the apartment. She understood that they had to share the space with other people, and she tried desperately to find work. But Sonia knew little English. There was not much that she could do. Through a neighbor she found work with a woman who had a house cleaning service, and now she cleans houses whenever she can get her sister-in-law to keep her baby. For each house that she cleans—along with a team of two other women—she is paid five dollars.

Sonia understands very little about how American schools work. To her, American schools appear to be like the schools in her village. She cannot understand why going to school to open houses is important or how her presence at school might help her children. What she wants is for her children to behave well, to do what they are told and to be respectful. Because of her life, because she came from a world in which poor village people do not have much social mobility, it is hard for her to understand how going to school might really make a difference in her children's lives. She knows that in this country children are supposed to finish secondary school, and that a paper saying students have finished school is important in order to get good jobs here, but her vision of what good jobs are is very different from the vision that mainstream Americans might have. Sonia knows no one personally in Mexico whose life changed significantly because they went to school. For Sonia, people are either rich or poor, and if people are poor, maybe they can get lucky and find a good *patron*, or maybe they can start their own business. Sonia truly believes that the only people that become doctors and lawyers are people that are already rich to begin with. She does not have those dreams for her own children.

Sonia also knows very little about the dangers her children face on an everyday basis. When her oldest son Juan became involved with a gang, she did not know what gangs really were. Moreover, she did not suspect that Lilian would become involved with one of her son's new friends and that soon she too, at the age of thirteen, would become a gang member herself.

Unfortunately, Lilian—whose neighborhood and not the school became her real world—did indeed become deeply involved in gang activities. In school she dressed in blue, attacked other girls, had fights, pulled hair, and sat sullenly in class. In less than nine months, the angelic little girl with blond hair wore bright red lipstick, poofed up bangs, and a lot of defiance. She learned little English. It was as though, she simply "tuned school out.' Her head was with the group of kids known as *sureños* (southerners or newly arrived Latinos) who reject the *norteños* (the Americanized Latinos) who among other things speak English well.

When Lilian entered Crenshaw School, Sonia was called about Lilian's fights. She was visited by a counselor and she tried her best—without really understanding what gangs were. But she knew that her daughter should not be fighting in school and that she should not be using bad language. Tito was not much help. The tensions in the marriage grew stronger. Living in close quarters with other adults was hard. Tito and his brother would often leave the house on the weekend and return after they had had much too much to drink. The children were frightened, and Sonia fought with her husband frequently.

Throughout the period of the study, the demands on Sonia were extraordinary. She worked, took care of most of the household jobs, and tried to teach her children good moral values. Indeed, most of her interactions with her children involved her giving

them *consejos*, short homilies—on what to do, what is good in life, and what young people should try to be. She had to worry about Lilian's older sister, about her twins, and about her oldest son who is in frequent fights. Life in Mexico did not prepare her to deal with the modern industrialized world in which things like respect for parents and hard honest work seemed to her not to be valued in the same ways. She felt guilty that she was letting her children down, that she did not know how to help them with their homework and that she did not have time to go to school and to learn English. But Sonia was very sure what she wanted for her children: she wanted her sons to be hardworking and honest, and for her daughters to be virtuous.

Magda, Elisa's mother, also wanted her daughters to be virtuous. But she had been in this country a long time and she was beginning to understand how things work here. She came initially to the New York area where her father lived, and she enrolled in English classes at night. When she moved to Los Angeles two years later, she could make herself understood in English very well. Six years later, Magda can negotiate almost every interaction in flawed but functional English. She is determined that her daughters will learn to speak the language well, and that they will not have heavy Spanish accents.

As a single parent, Magda has had to work at several jobs. Once her daughters got here, the pressures on her became enormous. She worked the late shift in a factory, took care of a sick old man on the weekends, and cleaned houses most weekend mornings. Often she would leave before the children woke up and return long after they had gone to sleep.

Even now, the children live their lives by very strict rules. They go home immediately after school, cannot have friends over and can not go outside at all. They can sit in their apartment, watch television and do their homework. Magda calls from work whenever she has a free moment.

At school Magda is well known. From one of her employers, Magda heard that it is important to go to school often, to meet the girls teachers, and to be present for all open houses and special meetings. All of the teachers, then, have met Magda and are most impressed with her. The fact that she speaks English and that she volunteers occasionally in one class or another makes her very different form other Latino immigrant mothers. One teacher is most impressed with Magda and believes that she is a very educated woman who works in the computer industry.

The fact is, Magda tries as hard as she can to get every piece of information that can help her children. When we met, she soon deluged me with questions. It was obvious that she knew little about what the ESL program was, what sheltered classes were, and how her children were doing. At the beginning of the second year of the study, she happily shared with me the fact that Elisa was now in all "regular" classes. Unfortunately, this was not true. Elisa had been mainstreamed in math and she was taking choir, but she was still in the LEP (not even advanced LEP core) and her science class was also a LEP science. She was not even close to being mainstreamed.

I explained the difference several times and shared with her details about how Elisa was doing in class. It was clear that Elisa was struggling with a pre-algebra class and especially with writing "problems of the week." For a while Elisa called me almost daily and asked for my help. Magda drove her to my house when she could, but she disapproved of Elisa's dependency and did not want her to become used to always

getting help. I could not persuade her that my own son, who was fluent monolingual English speaking and also in middle school, needed help every day. I tried to explain that in many cases assignments are made that children will not be able to do without adult help. Magda looked at me incredulously. She could not imagine that teachers would expect that all children had families who could help them.

Sophisticated as Magda is, it is a superficial sophistication. She knows only a little about how American life works and is, for example, deeply in debt. She applied for several credit cards, and—before she realized it—she spent much more money than she could afford. Like other immigrants, Magda does not quite understand a lot of things that seem straightforward to those of us who have been in this country since birth. She understands only enough to get by sometimes and not others. For example, she was offered a job as a teachers aide in a bilingual program by school personnel who had been impressed by seeing her at her children's school. She took the job five mornings a week and soon found out that to keep the job she would need to get her G.E.D. But she did not know what a G.E.D. was and how and where she would go to get one. She had smiled during the interview and said that indeed she had begun to take community college classes and would soon get her G.E.D.. But it took hours of explaining how high school works in this country, what a high school diploma is, and how people can work on their G.E.D.'s. When she finally understood, Magda seemed quite positive that she could do well on whatever test was required. She felt that her only problem was writing in English—writing defined as spelling and vocabulary.

As it turned out, Magda worked as a teachers aide for only a few months. It became evident to the teachers that she lacked many essential skills and abilities in Spanish and that she had trouble helping the children with even beginning reading and writing. Magda was not upset, however. By then, she had bought a GED book and had begun attending the self-paced program in the local adult education center. However, she soon felt overwhelmed and could barely make it through a page or two at a time. She felt embarrassed that Elisa appeared to know much more than she did. Telling herself and all of us that she would return after she took some more ESL classes, she dropped out of the program and enrolled in an ESL grammar class in a local community college. Several weeks into the quarter, Magda had dropped out again. The teacher found much fault with her spoken English, and Magda could make little sense of the principal parts of the English verbs.

Today

Today, two and a half years after the study began, a lot has happened in the lives of both Elisa and Lilian and their mothers. Sonia is still working cleaning houses, but the family has moved away to another side of town away from the intense gang activity. Lilian attended another middle school during the second year of the study, and now she is enrolled in the ninth grade in an area high school. She has not made much progress in English. She understands little, and seems somewhat overwhelmed by the high school environment. She still fights with other girls and has recently been put on probation for being disrespectful to one of her teachers. One of the ESL teachers will not allow her in her classroom. Lilian completes her assignments by herself with the help of a tutor. All her class are part of the ESL or sheltered-content program.

Elisa on the other hand has learned a lot of English. She speaks English confidently, and had already impressed both her mainstream math and science teachers during the second year of the study. They both had recommended that she enroll in mainstream classes when she entered Lake High School this academic year. Mrs. Wallace, the ESL teacher, however, had doubts about Elisa. Since she had not finished the series of books used in the program at Garden School, she still considered Elisa to be LEP and not advanced LEP. Mrs. Wallace, therefore, recommended that Elisa be placed in *intermediate* ESL at Lake High School— a recommendation that labeled her as not ready for mainstream instruction in any other courses.

Magda was confused about what this meant. I explained to her the differences between courses taken at the high school level that are college preparatory and those that are not. She had some sense of what this meant, and she was angry that Elisa could only register for ESL-track courses. But she had no idea about how to help her daughter, especially when some courses that were not college prep sound interesting to Elisa. She heard my advice; she had the school's recommendation; and she knew her daughter's expressed preferences. Through it all, she really wanted the best for her Elisa, and she frequently asked me what students needed to know and do to get into universities like Stanford.

In the end, Magda moved Elisa to another area high school where Elisa had taken two mainstream English literature courses in the summer. Since Elisa had done well in these junior-level courses and since the school did not have a record of Elisa's ESL status, they enrolled her in typical mainstream, college prep courses. Currently, Elisa is struggling. She received a D in her social studies class, and she is spending time at the tutoring center at school. Most of her grades, however, are B's, and she interacts almost exclusively with her fluent-English-speaking classmates.

The Learning of English and the Development of Writing Abilities

Elisa and Lilian began their study of English at the same time. Both had come to this country as young teens, and both had had approximately the same kind of educational background. They had gone to rural schools, and they had learned to read and write in Spanish.

In this country, however, their academic lives seem to be following very different directions. Elisa is now in mainstream classes, while Lilian is on probation, enrolled in beginning ESL., and still involved in gang activities. Elisa speaks English confidently. She jokes, teases, recounts, argues, and cajoles. Two of her boy friends have been fluent English speakers, one Latino and one Anglo. Lilian, on the other hand, appears to be caught in the world of the *sureños*, of the gang members who reject the anglicized Mexicans who are already here. Occasionally she waivers back and forth because she meets a *norteño* (a member of the rival gang) that she likes, but the pull of her brother's loyalties is strong. For Lilian ,English is important only because it can help her get a job at McDonalds. For Elisa, on the other hand, it is vital to achieving the many goals that her mother has set out for her.

The same is true for Bernardo and Manolo. Manolo has moved to a good school where he interacts with many other students and teachers who speak English. By comparison, Bernardo has grown discouraged. English plays a very small part in his life. He knows no one with whom he can speak English. Monolingual and even fluent-

English-speaking students avoid him. In their classes, he is the student who is behind, the student who is not learning.

If English is the key to success in American schools, it appears that Manolo and Elisa will do well. However, if writing and writing well is really the key to success, it may be that Elisa and Manolo will also not succeed.. In spite of their dramatic growth in English proficiency, and in spite of the parallel growth they experienced in their writing competencies, this may not be good enough.

In the section that follows, detailed writing profiles of the four students will be presented. At the end of that section, we will offer conclusions about Manolo and Elisa's writing abilities and attempt to identify some of the barriers that they will face as they move from ESL into the mainstream.

THE WRITING DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOCAL STUDENTS

In this section we will present composite samples of the writing produced by the four students during the two-year period of the study. In the case of Bernardo and Lilian, the composites include only a few samples. In the case of Manolo and Elisa, we have included a selected number of the many pieces that they produced.

Lilian

During the two years of the study, Lilian filled in many worksheets and wrote long lists of words. She produced few examples of connected prose even in those cases when other members of her class were writing controlled compositions. Lilian tended either not to finish the assignment or to complete the assignment by producing more long lists of words. In spite of these limitations some changes and some growth can be seen in Lilian's writing, especially in the pieces she wrote during the language assessments we conducted.

As Sample 1 illustrates, the first year, at the time of the first assessment, Lilian's writing in English was limited to listing unrelated words across a page. However, her writing did reflect some awareness of conventional English spellings (e.g., telephone, boy, door, window) as well as an attempt to use Spanish sound-symbol rules to spell English words. (e.g., dor, clak, haus).

Lilian—Sample 1
November 1991

Hi! Bak Telephone Namer
Door window Dor clak boy bebe
haus cap map

In April and May of the first year of the study, Lilian completed a project on national parks for the social studies segment of Mrs. Wallace's NEP class. The project required that students include a cover, a table of contents, and "compositions" about several different parks. Students had watched videos of the national parks and had studied vocabulary relating to the outdoors and the wilderness. For each park, Mrs. Wallace had written relevant vocabulary on the board for the students as well as sentences with blanks to be copied and filled in.

As sample 2 makes clear, however, Lilian did not quite complete the assignment as required. Many segments of the report included in the table of contents, for example, are missing from the report. As was often the case, Lilian completed as little as possible of the work required.

Lilian—Sample 2 - National Parks Project
April-May, 1992

The National Parks of America

Lilian Duque

drawing of star
drawing of heart

page 1

table of contents

yellowstone national Park 1

Map of Yellowstone Park 2

Information abaut Yellowstone Pak 3

Grand Canyon 6

Information the grand canyon

Olympic national Pak 7

Carlsbad caverns 8

Information olympic national park 10

Carlsbad Caverns

Information Carlsbad caverns 10

page 2

As will be noted, Lilian paid little attention at this point to the use of capital letters. Even though Mrs. Wallace carefully wrote on the board all the segments of the report to be included in the table of contents, and even though she corrected rough drafts of these materials, Lilian's work included many spelling and capitalization errors.

Social Studies Lilian Duque
English G.C. 4/30/92

the night
rocks
clawry
trees
snow
river
plants
claues
lake
people
boat
palnts
mountais
shadaws
many trees
water
stars
waterfall
sun rise
sut set
clouds
river
spring page 3

1. I saw a mauntains.
2. I saw a clouds.
3. I say a many tree.
4. I saw a people in cave.
5. I saw a raff in water.
6. I swa a plants.
7. I saw a sho daws.
8. I saw a water fall.
9. I saw a desert with plants.
10. I saw a musi. page 4

As pages 3 and 4 of the report make evident, Lilian copied Mrs. Wallace's word lists incorrectly. In many cases, Lilian had no idea of what the words she wrote meant. This is especially evident on page 4 of the report where Lilian follows the "controlled composition" format favored by Mrs. Wallace and produces ungrammatical sentences. At this point in her English language development, Lilian was unable to produce complete sentences in English. She had trouble writing such sentences as well.

Social studie	Lilian Duque
Carlsbad Caverns	5/5/92
1. I was a big cavern.	
2. I was a pinted stalactite.	
3. I saw a lake in the cavern.	
4. the stalactite is made of water.	
5. the caverns are made of rocks	page 5

Page 5 of Lilian's report is especially interesting because it reveals how little Lilian understood of what she was being expected to write. She confused the word *was* with the word *saw* and wrote two completely non-sensical sentences. Lilian was not aware of her error in copying the "stimulus" sentences written by Mrs. Wallace. It is interesting to note that since Mrs. Wallace did not translate these stimulus sentences for the students who were almost at zero English, these students had no way of being sure of the exact meaning of what they were writing.

For the final page of her report, Lilian avoided the problem by not writing sentences and only copying words Mrs. Wallace had written on the board. Once again, it is evident that Lilian did not attend to all of the features of the words written by Mrs. Wallace. In some cases, she once again used her knowledge of Spanish writing to spell in English (e.g., *sen* for *sand*).

Olympic Natonal Park	Lilian Duque
	5/6/92
tree	
flowers	
plant	
deers	
water	
people	
starfish.	
rocks	
ducks	
mountian lion	
spidest web	
farest	
jungle	
beach	
grass	
sen	
seagulls	
deer	
sea anenome	
sky	
duck (erased)	page 6

List writing appears to be a strategy that Lilian learned to use well. By the time of the second assessment at the end of May, 1992, Lilian once again wrote a list of words when asked to write in English. There was some evidence of growth nevertheless. As sample 3 illustrates, this time the list of words was written exactly the same way she wrote word lists in class. Moreover, the list contains a large variety of different vocabulary items including prepositions (*by*), nouns, and other word combinations (*for my, love foreve*). As is the case for all the lists produced by Lilian, it is often impossible to guess at the meaning of certain "words" (*roon*).

Lilian—Sample 3
May, 1992

because
people
hause
school
froder
pull
lucky
by
for my
mader
fader
roon
~~compiute~~ (crossed out)
boy
table
orange
telepone
ofecis
dog
cat
manke
~~pen~~
~~fori~~
love foreve
hear
purple

At the time of the third assessment, Lilian produced the following text when asked to write in English:

Lilian—Sample 4
December, 1992

My Name is lilian A likA school
A like work. Me gusta tener amigas
tanbien megusta cosinar me gusta ser
travajos soy Amistosa megusta Ayudar
alajente the school is mach bere Alike
the teacher Alike de people en Alike de 1 boy

Here Lilian's writing shows significant growth. Although she uses a combination of English and Spanish in her text, she is able to produce several complete sentences in English. As was the case in her Spanish language composition written at the beginning of the study, in this piece Lilian wrote about the things she likes. She still used Spanish spelling conventions to write in English (*mache bere* for *much better*), and her writing directly reflects her spoken English (*Alike* for *I like*, and *en Alike* for *and I like*. It is interesting to note, however, that in using the capital A for *Alike* consistently, Lilian shows some awareness of the fact that, in English, the term used to refer to oneself is capitalized.

What one can also see in this piece of writing is Lilian's ability to produce written English under timed conditions. We do not know whether under other circumstances, Lilian might have been able to write more extensively at this point in her English language development.

By itself, however, this sample is valuable because it allowed us to examine how Lilian uses both of her codes together to produce a single product. This spontaneous use of two codes to express meaning suggests that early in their development, limited English speaking students may need to be allowed to use their two languages in order to transmit meaning. We can imagine that, if the emphasis were on teaching students to how to communicate real meanings in writing, in pre-writing, teachers might want to encourage students to write in English and to use Spanish whenever they found themselves unable to express what they wanted to say in English. At the actual writing stage, students could then be helped to express these Spanish segments in English.

Lilian's Writing Development: A Summary

Overall, Lilian's writing development moved quite slowly in two years. We can only conjecture what her development might have been had she remained at Garden School and continued writing controlled compositions. At Crenshaw, Lilian wrote much less than she had at Garden, and much of this writing was limited to creating single sentences with unrelated vocabulary words. What we *can* say is that as result of receiving very little instruction in English writing, at the end of two years, Lilian was beginning to be able to write what she could already say in English. The fact is, however, that Lilian could say very little. Her English production was limited to isolated sentences.

Bernardo

Like Lilian, Bernardo writing abilities in English developed slowly. At the time of the first assessment in May, 1992 (after he had been in the United States five months) Bernardo produced the following two pieces of writing.

Bernardo—Sample 1
May 1992
pele have friends played soccer
pele he played for the New York Pele
played his first Pele He became a
millionaire He was the most famous

Sample 2
May 1992
fader eat the beibi have pencil sister

The first sample was produced in response to our request that he write about a reading in English that he read as a part of the language assessment administered to all four focal students. Bernardo was allowed to refer to the reading as he wrote. As will be noted, Bernardo appeared to be copying directly from the text, and in one instance, it is possible that he did not understand exactly what he was copying. This is suggested by the fact that he left the sentence: "Pelé played his first" unfinished.

Bernardo's limitations were far more evident, however, in sample 2 when he was asked to write about his school or his family. At this point in his English language development, Bernardo was only able to write a list of words across the page. The list includes two verbs (*eat, have*) and several nouns (*fader, beibi, pencil, sister*) as well as an article (*the*). Bernardo made no attempt, however, to construct complete sentences. As was the case in Lilian's first attempts to write in English, Bernardo used Spanish spelling conventions to spell English words. He wrote *fader* and *beibi.* for *father* and *baby*. However, he also used conventional English spelling.

During the second year of the study, Bernardo spent his time filling in worksheets that accompanied the *New Horizons* series used in Mrs. Wallace's classes. Frequently, however, he wrote assignments such as the following:

Bernardo—Sample 3
Sept, 1992.

30
30
60 sentences

Bernardo Salas
Date Sept,28, 1992

I write a book.	I write a letter.
you write a book.	you write a letter.
He write a book.	He write a letter
She write a book.	She write a letter
They write a book	They write a letter
I write a music	I eat a banana.
you write a music	you eat a banana.
He write a music	He eat a banana.
She write a music	She eat a banana.
They write a music	They eat a banana.
I eat a sandwich?	I eat a ice cream cone
you eat a sandwich?	you eat a ice cream cone
He eat a sandwich?	He eat a ice cream cone
She eat a sandwich?	She eat a ice cream cone
They eat a sandwich?	They eat a ice cream cone

What is interesting here is that Bernardo was conjugating English verbs incorrectly. Moreover, he was inconsistent in his use of sentence-final punctuation as well as capitalization. Moreover, as was the case when Mrs. Wallace provided stimulus sentences for controlled composition activities, some of the sentences produced by Bernardo were ungrammatical.

In addition to drills and exercises, Bernardo wrote controlled compositions in Mrs. Wallace's class. Sample 4 below is an example of Bernardo's "guided" writing, and samples 5 and 6 are examples of the same composition about Koko written by other students in the class.

Bernardo—Sample 4
9/11/92
Koko is a girl gorilla.
She likes kittens. She likes
to read books about Kittens.
She signs words when she reads. She knows
500 words in sign language. The name of
the Kitten is All Ball. All Ball

Marlene—Sample 5

Koko's Kitten
Koko is a girl gorilla. She likes
kittens The girl gorilla likes to read
books, She sings more them 500 words
in sing lenguage. The name of the
Kitten is All Ball. All Ball has no
tail Koko wanted a kitten or her
birthday. She got mad. Koko likes to
play games. Koko's Kitten was died.
Now koko has another kitten. The new
Kittens name is lipstick. The cat is
red. And Now she is very happy.
End!

Victor—Sample 6

Koko is a girl gorilla She likes Kittens.
She likes to read books about Kittens.
She signs words when she reads.
she knows 500 ords in sign language.
The name of the Kitten is All Ball.
All Ball has no tail.
Koko wanted a Kitten on her birthday.
she got a cemet cat for christmas.
Koko got mad.

Koko likes to play games.
Koko's Kitten died.

Koko's kitten by Dr. Francine Patterson.
Pictures by Ronald cohn photogrphs.

As will be noted, Bernardo's composition follows exactly the same pattern as those of his classmates. All students in the class capitalized the word *kitten* suggesting that it was probably capitalized on Mrs. Wallace list of words. The similarity of the compositions reflects the fact that Mrs. Wallace wrote an entire set of connected sentences on the board leaving blanks here and there for the students to fill in. There is little that one can learn from the Koko text about Bernardo's writing development except for the fact that he appeared at this point to be able to copy sentences from the board and to write them in the form of a paragraph.

For Assessment III (the second assessment carried out of Bernardo's English language proficiency), Bernardo wrote the following piece:

Bernardo—Sample 7
Dec. ,1992

Bernardo
Mi name is Bernardo Salas have
13 I'm lake play soccer.
Mi love fathe, mothe, sisters
counsin and uncle.

Here Bernardo displays some ability to construct sentences in English and to produce these sentences in writing. He is able to communicate four ideas about himself which in standard English would read:

My name is Bernardo Salas
I am 13. (Bernardo's *have 13* is a literal translation of the Spanish *tengo 13* [años])
I like to play soccer.
I love my father, mother, sisters, cousin and uncle.

After approximately one year of schooling in the United States, Bernardo could provide limited information about himself in English in written form. The information, however, might not be comprehensible to persons not familiar with the writing of non-native speakers of English.

It is important to point out that instruction in Bernardo's ESL class was not directed at helping students to develop specific functional abilities such as requesting information, providing information, recounting an event, summarizing material read, etc. During the same period the Bernardo wrote sample 7 for our assessment, in class he was normally writing material such as the following:

Bernardo—Sample 8

Bernardo Salas

Today is Monday
Date 12-14-92

1. This is my hair.
2. These are my eyes.
3. This is my nose.
4. This is my lmouth.
5. This is my foot.
6. This is my school.
7. This is my room.
8. This is my teacher.
9. These are my friends.

By the second semester of the second year (January -May, 1993), however, Mrs. Wallace's began to work on letter writing with her class as well as on a "long" autobiographical piece. Samples of the letters written by Bernardo are included below:

Bernardo—Sample 9

1133 Camel Street[17]
Valley Verde, CA 99999
April 8, 1993

Mr. Doussard
Assistant City Editor
San Jose Mercury News
750 Ridders Park Drive
San Jose, CA 95109

Dear Mr. Doussar, I want to say thank you to the person who gave the 50,000 dollars to teh schools. That way, the schools can buy computer things, and some materials. And we also want to thank the Mercury News for helping the schools.

Sincerely,
Bernardo Salas

Bernardo—Sample 10

1133 Camel Street
Valley Verde, CA 99999
May 4, 1993

Dear Mr. Duffy,
Thank for coming to read a book in
the room 5. is beutiful your story
I wish you come again
to read us a story like the
one you read. ~~is very importan~~
your storys. are very important.

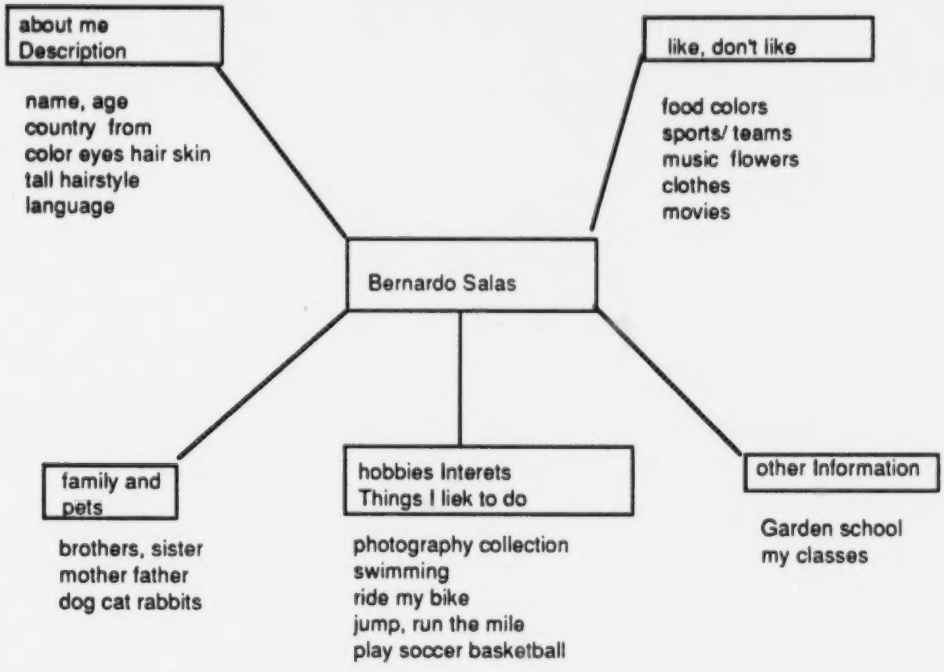
Sincerely,
Bernardo Salas

In the case of the letters, it is evident that students were being taught important details about how letters are addressed and formatted. Models of correctly formatted letters were provided by Mrs. Wallace, and much discussion focused on where various

[17] This address is fictitious. The address written by Bernardo was changed in order to protect the identify of the student and the school in which the research was carried out.

kinds of information had to be written on the page. The content of the letters was once again "guided" and carefully controlled by Mrs. Wallace. Bernardo, for example, did not have the ability to independently produce the sentences included in these two letters in oral or written form. Moreover, it is evident from his faulty copying of the material written on the board by the teacher, that he had not yet internalized rules about punctuation and capitalization.

The difference between guided and spontaneous writing in the case of Bernardo can perhaps be best seen in the contrast between the auto-biographical piece produced in class and the piece he produced for us during his third language assessment. For this auto-biographical piece, the teacher had introduced a pre-writing activity involving semantic mapping. She handed out blank maps to all students and then proceeded to help them fill out the various categories. Bernardo's map is included below:



Once again, Mrs. Wallace wrote vocabulary words on the board that students could copy to fill in their various categories. As will be apparent, some of the suggested sub-categories made assumptions about the students' lives that were somewhat questionable and revealed the teacher's lack of familiarity with lives of her students. In our experience, new immigrant students who live in poverty do not have either pets or hobbies.

Once again, even when using a process approach to writing, Mrs. Wallace did not trust her students to create or communicate their own meanings. As will be evident from the final draft of the piece produced by Bernardo, she still controlled the content of the students' papers to a very large degree.

Bernardo—Sample 11

My name is Bernardo Salas.
I am 14 year old my color
of my eyes are brown my leg is long
my skin is brown my hair is
black and white my favorite is
language I like play soccer my
favorite color is green, red, blue I like
the jump, run the mile my favorite
teams is raiders. Do you like sports
What team did you like on football.
Do you like raiders. I like chicago bulls
on basketball. In Garden middle school
we have 36 rooms. We don't cat
in the classes I like the movies universal
soulder, vethoven, and the movie Delta
force I have two I like swimming with
my ancles, my father, friends every day my play
soccer in the school Cedars with Daniel,
Jose.m., Juan. E. Jesus landa and Alfredo my
food favorite is pizza of chese I have
my bike of color black and white
the school garden is big have
cafeteria, library

Sencerely
Bernardo Salas

At this point in Bernardo's development, he was able to talk about a variety of the categories included on his semantic map. It is evident, however, that he was not writing completely independently. Nevertheless, he was indeed able to include genuine information about himself, his activities, and his friends. Even though he was confused about the format of the assignment and even though he included some letter-like elements, it was Bernardo's first attempt to say something real in writing. With a bit of effort, the reader of this piece is able to learn that Bernardo is a sports enthusiast. He appears to be familiar with several teams, and he reports that he plays soccer with a group of friends whom he lists.

The piece is clearly disorganized. Bernardo has little notion of paragraph development or paragraph unity. This is not surprising because neither Bernardo nor his classmates received instruction about these matters. Until the time that this assignment was presented, students had been writing lists of numbered sentences on a single topic.

In contrast to the longer autobiographical piece included above, when asked to write spontaneously about himself during his third language assessment, Bernardo wrote much less. As can be seen in sample 12, however, he displayed an ability to provide

information about himself that was more sophisticated than that demonstrated during his second assessment. Here Bernardo is clearly recalling the piece he wrote earlier, but he is still able to remember relevant vocabulary and to construct comprehensible English sentences.

Bernardo—Sample 12
May 1993

My name is Bernardo. I like play
soccer I have 14 yers Hold from Mixico city
I like swiming I have hair black
leg bit My skin is ~~branu~~ braunw
I like the movie vethoven and the movie
colors my father I have

Bernardo's Writing Development: A Summary

Overall, Bernardo's writing development moved more rapidly than did Lilian's during the one and one half years that he was part of the study. Like Lilian, however, Bernardo had reached only a very beginning level of writing proficiency. He could, for example: (1) write simple unconnected sentences that he could produce orally; (2) write very short connected discourse on topics about which he could produce connected oral discourse (e.g., family, self, school); and (3) imitate some elements of models of written language presented to him. He often failed, however, to attend to capitalization and punctuation and other details that were included in the models.

Elisa

As compared to Lilian and Bernardo, Elisa made an impressive amount of progress in her ability to write in English during the two years of the study. As was the case with all four of the focal students, Elisa began by writing what appeared to be a list of single words in English. However, as will be evident from a closer look at sample 1 below, Elisa was really writing a series of sentences that read: *Thes tha paper; Thes tha father; Thes tha mother*. She is consistent in her use of ditto marks under the original sentence as far as the word *baby*. Elisa also includes another complete sentence: *My mother is Magda*.

Elisa—Sample 1
October, 1991

Thes tha paper	My mother is Magda
" " father	
" " mother	family
" " boy	
" " girl	
" " baby	
door	
window	
mesuring spoon	
spatula o turner	

postre
measurins cup
teacher
sister
brother
granmother
name
period

As was the case with Lilian and Bernardo, Elisa produced few writing samples during her first semester in Mrs. Wallace's NEP classroom. Most writing activities involved filling in worksheets or copying of vocabulary. However, during the period that Mrs. Wallace was on maternity leave (winter quarter, 1992) Elisa was encouraged to write the following comment on a reading done in class. It will be recalled that Ms. McGrath (the replacement teacher) was a strong believer in the ability of limited-English-speaking students to write in English at the very early stages of their development in L2. In responding to their writing, she looked, not for grammatical correctness, but for students ability to communicate meaning. In the piece included here as Sample 2, Elisa did, in fact, communicate her understanding of her subject. She was able to display information. Even though the text contains a number of spelling errors and little punctuation, it can be understood by a sympathetic reader who is familiar with the language production of non-native speakers of English.

Elisa—Sample 2
February, 1992

THE PUFFIN

Puffin is a animal the color black white and the mouth is color yellow and read in the rock in group of birds and eat a fish and incect.
Elisa

Later in the spring , Elisa, who like the other NEP students in Mrs. Wallace's class produced a national parks project, wrote the following piece as part of her project.

Elisa—Sample 3

Social Studies 1°3°

My favorite Park

Elisa Lara

5-3-92

I like Yellowstone National Park, because in there is a beautiful vision. Yellowstone Park is in three state. They are Wyoming, Montana and Idaho. There is a Interesting thing like, boiling water, Old Faithful, water-ful, the blue water in a pool and some animals. The Old Faithful is very Interesting for me because in every hours shoot water. The Yellowstone Park have a river and you can go fishing. I think the Yellowstone National Park was the first Park in America or The United States.

Compared to Lilian's writing on national parks, Elisa's writing is quite superior. She is not following Mrs. Wallace's controlled sentence structure, nor is she simply filling in blanks. In this piece, Elisa is displaying information, expressing personal opinion, and giving a reason for her personal opinion.

It is important to note that by the time Elisa wrote both sample 2 and her national parks project, she was able to produce connected discourse on a variety of familiar topics in English. As Assessment II later made clear, after nine months of schooling, Elisa was able to provide personal information, to role play, and to read simple academic materials in English. She was able, for example, to provide a very coherent oral summary of what she read. In short, as compared to Lilian and Bernardo, Elisa had made spectacular progress in her acquisition of listening comprehension and speaking abilities in English.

Elisa's progress in written English, while dramatic, was less spectacular. For example, as pointed out in the section on Assessment II, her oral summary of a reading on Barbara Streisand in both English and Spanish clearly demonstrated that she had understood the reading well.

G.V.: Now, tell me what it said. Tell me something you remember about it.	
E.L.: She was a ugly girl.	
G.V.: An ugly girl. Okay.	
E.L.: And delgada?	
G.V.: Thin, okay.	

E.L.: And her mother want to she be a secretary. And she want to be a actress. And (pause) 1961 she go to a nightclub and she work like a funny girl I think so. And she, ¿cómo se dice?	And she, how do you say?
G.V.: You can look at that if you want to.	
E.L.: Funny Brace. And then she goes be a star on the radio in the radio for two years Barbara performance every week. And.	
G.V.: Okay, ahora dime en español. Qué le sacaste de la lectura	Okay, now tell me in Spanish. What did you get from the reading?
E.L.: Ella era un poquito fea. La mamá no quería que ella, la mamá no la metía en un grupo de danza porque no quería. Y ella sí quería. Y ella empezó y ella cuando esta, cuando ella creció y cuando esta crecida se metió a un club de, a un night club. Y ella trabaja como una muchacha que hace chistosas cosas. Y de ahí se va siendo estrella por medio del radio.	She was a bit ugly. The mother didn't want her, the mother didn't put her in a dance group because she didn't want to. And she did want to. And she began and she when she grew up, when she was grown she went into a club, a night club. And she works like a girls who does funny things. And from there she went on being a start because of the radio.

Her written summary, however, did not make evident that Elisa had understood what she read or even that she could discuss the reading orally. Seen by itself, Elisa's summary (sample 4) seems even more problematic than her piece on the puffin or her piece on Yellowstone Park. In her summary Elisa demonstrates *some* mastery of English structure, but fails to communicate anything beyond the two sentences with which the reading itself began.

Elisa- Sample 4
April, 1992
Barbara was a very ugly girl and she wanted
to be a actress but her wanted to she need to be
a secretary; Barbara wanted to learn dance but
her ~~dat~~ don't like to her daughter dace because
she think the is going to break.

There is no evidence in this piece of writing that indicates that Elisa has the ability to display information, to express an opinion, or to justify such an opinion. On the basis of this sample, one would be tempted to rate Elisa as a very beginning ESL writer. What needs to be taken into account, however, is that Elisa had had no experience in attempting to produce oral or written summaries. As even her oral response included above indicates, Elisa did not know quite where to begin her summary of the content of

what she had read about Barbara Streisand. Another possible factor influencing her performance is the timed nature of the assessment itself. Students were given approximately ten minutes to write their summaries.

The second writing sample produced as part of Assessment II reveals much more about Elisa's English language proficiency. Here Elisa is responding to the our request that she write about herself. She elects to write about school and about why she likes going to school. Once again, in this piece, Elisa is successful in expressing an opinion and in expressing a justification for her position. In this sample, it is evident that Elisa is writing what she can already say. Moreover, her written English reflects the spoken language directly.

Elisa—Sample 5
April, 1992

I like to came to the school because a
learn a lot of English.
and I learn to do art home a run
the mile and a do (esperimin) and I learn. Math.
and I learn a lot of things. and I want then
when I be big I have a good job.
another thing they a like to come to the school is
because I have a lot of ~~freinds~~ friends.
And because the teaches are very good.

As was pointed out previously, this particular text reflects Elisa's confusion between spoken and written English. The use of *a* for *I* . for example, in

a learn a lot of English
a do (esperimin)

reveals that she produces a schwa-like sound for the pronoun *I* in speaking. She then transcribes this sound both as *a* and *I*. Transfer of native-language syntax is also evident here. Elisa uses an English subjunctive

and I want then when *I be* big

to translate the Spanish subjunctive *(cuando sea grande)*

This text is also characterized by small "errors" that would have passed undetected were one listening to Elisa's rapid speech in English. For example, Elisa wrote:

another thing *they* a like to do
the *teaches* are very good

In rapid speech, these small irregularities in Elisa's English would have been insignificant. An interlocutor speaking to Elisa would probably have "heard":

another thing *that* I like to do
the *teachers* are very good

Given her growing control of the language and her ability to communicate meaning, elements such as these generally went unnoticed in Elisa's speech. However, when writing in response to a task such as that required by Assessment II, Elisa reflected her oral language patterns and simply transcribed what she could say. This resulted in a set of very unique "errors".

The Second Year

During the second year, Elisa's desire to write independently became more evident. In Mrs. Wallace's NEP class, for example, where she was placed for a three month period at the beginning of the year, Elisa, like Bernardo, wrote about Koko the gorilla. Her text, however, is quite different from those produced by the rest of her classmates. She did not use the stimulus sentences provided by the teacher. Instead, she attempted to communicate her own response to Koko's story. She chose details not selected by the teacher.

Interestingly enough, Mrs. Wallace was not pleased with the fact that Elisa was making great progress in finding her own voice. She focused, rather, on the large number of "errors" present in the text, and stated that Elisa needed to control English structure better before she became carried away with content.

Indeed, an examination of this text makes evident that there are indeed many spelling errors (leared, awser, littet) and a number of syntactic errors (she know what is birthday mean, she don't wanted a cement cat). However, Elisa is successful in summarizing the presentation on Koko in ways in which she was not in summarizing the text about Barbara Streisand. Here Elisa writes about the details on which she herself focused and displays the fact that she has a subtle understanding of Koko's linguistic abilities. Her only concession to Mrs. Wallace's preferences is the numbering of each of her sentences.

Like the other members of the class, Elisa also capitalizes *kittens*. However, her use of capitals and other punctuation is far more conventional than it had been previously.

Elisa—Sample 6
Sept. 1992
Koko's story

1. Koko is a girl gorilla.
3. She leard how to signs words and she know what is birthday mean.
4. I like the part when one of her freinds ask her what did she do on her birthday, and she awser eat, drink and got old.
5. Koko's like's Kittens, she wanten a Kitten for her birthday.
6. But for Christmas she got a cement cat, she got very angry, she don't wanted a cement cat she wanted a real cat.

7. Koko's has a lot of friends, one of her friends take three littet kitten, and she show then to Koko.
8. Koko look at the three Kitten, and there's was two with tail and one with no tail.
9. She select the one did has no tail.
10. And she say she will call the Kitten All ball.

The same month that she produced the Koko text for Mrs. Wallace, Elisa wrote the text included here as sample 7 and turned it in to her science teacher for extra credit. Here Elisa recounts an experience and provides information about a company located in Silicon Valley.

Elisa—Sample 7

Sept., 1992
Silicon Ghaprics it a big company this company has a lot of buildings, we went to two buildings first we went to building sis, and the people who works there, they take us to a room where the presidents of the company has they meatings. And then we divide us in two groups and then my group went to the second building that was building two. They call building two Human Factors Lab
in building two they talk what the company made? The campany made computers, and they also talk about what they do in building two. What they do is to test people to see how they do in computers. And they ask if someone of us wanted to try to do the test. Then we went to a room and there was two big t.v.'s and we was watching at him doing the test. And then we went to building to again and then I have the chance to play with the computer and it's very easy to play in that computer it was a very nice expeirence to meat people, learnd about computers They tell us some of the activitis they do. Every year competitive of the best video of the year. They show us the video and there was very good. I like did we meat some workers, there was the person who made the aplications her name is Mimi Celis. The secretery's name is Clara Colon. The engineer name is Pablo Sanches. The manufacturing's name is Velia Rico. The security's name is Hank Sisneros. All they tall us something about ther life.
Dwayne Corneleas/ Product Demo.
Hi talk's about the Iris Indigo, and then hi show us a video about
Moviemaking Tirers
T.V Safety
Medical Video
There are made it with computers
Hi also talk about his life.

Hi give us a talk on staying in school

the field trip end at
2:02
9-28-92

From one perspective, this text shows Elisa's strong continuing development in written English. This is a far longer text than those she produced previously. There is significant evidence here of increasing fluency.

On the other hand, from the perspective of organization and mechanics, this text appears to be quite flawed. It contains spelling, punctuation, and capitalization errors, and the direct reflection of Elisa's spoken English is quite evident. Elisa is using a completely oral style to write this report. Her notion of a written sentence, as opposed to a spoken utterance, is still developing.

For a number of reasons, it could be said that Elisa is writing beyond her competence. She has not acquired either the structures or the vocabulary essential for writing about this particular subject. More importantly, perhaps, this text is quite unfocused. The emphasis shifts from a strictly chronological recounting of the field trip to a number of different details. As a single paragraph, this long segment of text is incoherent.

However, considering the fact that Elisa had received no instruction on text organization and that she had been in the United States only one year, this text is quite exceptional in what it reveals about Elisa's potential and about the ways that limited-English-speaking students begin to write using their growing oral language abilities.

Sample 8 displays Elisa's ability to use the same strategy (writing what she could say) to prepare a report for her mainstream pre-algebra class. This texts illustrates the kind of writing that is increasingly being required in middle school mathematics. Here, Elisa responds to her teacher's prompt and attempts to explain, show, and demonstrate the relationship between 1/2 and 50 %. At this point of the second school year. Elisa was quite confident of her ability to express herself in all her classes. Perhaps because her writing had not been responded to negatively by any of her teachers (except perhaps by Mrs. Wallace), Elisa saw herself as a writer of English. She did not view writing as difficult or problematic. For Elisa, writing was simply written down speech. She was totally unaware of most writing conventions (e.g., paragraph development) and the fear of violating them appeared never to enter her thoughts.

Elisa—Sample 8

Math 2°

Elisa Lara
2/10/93

Explain, show or Demonstrate the Relationship
between 1/2 and 50%. Do this in as many different
ways as you can.

She draws 4 of these proportions

The relationship between 1/2 and 50% is that 50% of 1 pizza is the same than 1/2 of one pizza. 50% is half something, 1/2 is half of something too.

"Problem"
I only have forty dollars and I want to buy a pair of jeans and a T shirt. If I go to Target and I see a pair of jeans that cost forty dollars, but now is on sale for 50% off. That means that the jeans cost half of the forty dollars, because 50% means half of something. I saw a T shirt over there in the corner that cost fourty dollars, but now is 1/2 off. That means the same thing as 50% did for the jeans. Now I got what I wanted, I have a pair of jeans, a T shirt, and I only spent forty dollars. cool!!

In the above text, Elisa selects a practical familiar situation (shopping at Target) to explain the relationship in question. Once again, the piece has a number of problems. However, it is evident that Elisa can indeed explain and demonstrate using English writing. It is also evident that even without instruction on English language structure directed at correcting her grammar, Elisa is now producing fewer noticeably non-native errors. In this text, what is most salient is her use of colloquial English.

Elisa's growing sense of herself as an English writer became especially evident when she fell in love for the first time. The object of her affections was a monolingual English-speaking youngster whom she met at a church social. Because they lived in different parts of the Bay Area, most or their relationship was carried out in writing.

Sample 9 below, includes two versions of a prose poem that Elisa prepared to send to her friend Joshua. She shared this writing with us because she wanted us to see how well she was beginning to write. We suspected that the text was not entirely original.

Elisa—Sample 9
March 3, 1993

friend is a big gift that life give to people
And here I got, one of the bigest pressents,
you has a friend

Version # 1
If you could see trough my heart you would see a
light shining every singale minute that I think about you
this light means our friendship our beautiful
friend ship. And my heart and me, have decidedo to keep it.
And you know way? ~~We have dicided to keep it? WELL~~ becouse
you have been very nice ~~to me and very kind~~ and cool. to me
~~has never someone haven do that before~~
I hope we can be best friends for our whole life
Please don't let this light inside of me go away.

Version # 2
If you could see trough my heart
~~you~~ you would see a light ~~every~~ that
shinyes every time I ~~tha~~ think about
you and everytime I talk to you or see you.
~~that light means whatever you feel about~~
this ~~that~~ light means a friendship, ~~a friendship~~
a beautiful friendship that wants to keep
growing growing
on ~~going~~ and going. (Please! dont let this
light inside of me go away!)

But you know what I drews ~~a~~ this paper

to show you that every time a talk to you or see
crazy, and
you. I get nervous, happy, shy. But the most
important thing is that this light inside of me
~~is is~~ is still growing ~~er~~ every singale min.

By the spring of the second year of the study, then, Elisa believed that she could write in English. She sought opportunities to do so, and she produced different kinds of texts for her different classes including reports, recipes, and recountings of events. It is interesting that Elisa did the least amount of writing in her intermediate ESL class with Mrs. Wallace.

Samples 10 and 11 are illustrative of the kind of writing that Elisa produced during this period.

Elisa—Sample 10

Social Studies 5 — Elisa Lara

Greece — 4/6/93

Greece, Eternal Greece is an Island were the music
is beautiful it has great, tall neet temples that
were built in ancient Greece. Greece has a lot of
Islands around it. like Zankintos, Pelopanis, Mainland,
Mesibo, Kavolla, Acropolos, The Placa, Karamichos, Mykinos
and a lot more.
Zankintos, it's a beaufiful Island where fruit grow and
most of the people work has farmers.
Pelopanis, has a beautiful view It has beautiful rocks
mountains, new houses and in the thirteen's century a
castel was built, now its some sort of ghost houses.
Mainland, were sheeperds take good care of there sheep
were the women made beautiful rugs by hand,
and were strange old houses on the top of a hill.
Mesibo, has beautiful houses made of rocks, waterfuls,
fresh water and were the fishermen are always
ready to fish, and were the women have decided to
keep there cuture, by dressing with beautiful dresses
Kavolla, (roman name was miapolla) It has nice houses
buildings and It has some sort of a gold mine.
Acropolos, In Acropolos there was a stone age that
was built 21200 years ago, and a bi g temple colored
white, forty foot tall and it was covered in gold
300 years ago.
The Ploca, has little houses, and a old street main-
street where a fraim of flowers is located.
Karamichos, I think is where most of the turists go.
Mykinos, It's a Island were there's about 365 churches,
nice, beautiful colored, and were there's a lot of
wingmillers down in the town call venus.
Some traditional staff that people from some
of these Islands are bear foot wlaking, making
grape wine by bear foot, soldiers marching on the
street with traditional uniforrms.

Elisa—Sample 11
No date- Spring,93

Ratheon

Ratheon is a big company that works with Sime-Conductor. When I hear Sime-Conductor, I thought, "oh well then they build the kind of product that the military uses for its comercial products and radios, TV, cameras etc. For what I have known they have companies around United States, but they also have a company in the Philipins. Ratheon is a public company, I heard that Lucky store is one of its costumers. This company spends millions of dollars every years on their product but they also receive a lot of money back for their excellect work. This company has all kinds of workers like; engeenirs, test operators, fab operators, techicians, auders, Electrical engeenirs, etc. Ratheon has three departments of workers; the department of engeenirs, fab and quality insures. Ratheon also has workers from different countries like: Mexico, Brazil, Vietname, China, America, Itali, Philipins, and Creek. For some of the jobs in Ratheon you only need a tip of school and good English. Around 50 years ago Raheom had a different name, it was Rheem.
It was very nice to learn a short information of Ratheon company.

Sincerely,
Elisa

As will be noted, at the end of her second year in this country, Elisa was able to carry out a number of speech acts in writing. She could display information, recount events, express opinions, justify opinions, and express feelings. From an ESL perspective, that is, if one compares Elisa to most Latino students who have been here for only two years, her performance is exceptional. Nevertheless, some ESL teachers would possibly be concerned about her lack of accuracy. Others, however, seeing the continued acquisition of English structure without direct instruction, would feel confident that many of her "errors" would disappear over time.

From a mainstream perspective, however, Elisa's writing is quite problematic. Many regular English teachers, especially those who are not used to reading the writing of incipient and developing bilinguals, would perhaps not appreciate what Elisa has accomplished and what she might accomplish with good instruction in writing itself.

Fortunately for Elisa, her first encounter with a mainstream English teacher was a positive one. During the summer of 1993 she enrolled in two summer school sessions of remedial English for native-speaking high school students. The teacher, an experienced professional committed to developing students' writing proficiency, encouraged Elisa's sense of herself as a competent writer while pointing out some patterns and features in her writing that could be improved. Under Mrs. Carson's direction, Elisa produced texts such as the following:

Elisa—Sample 12
6-16-93
Writing Lesson # 2

The two cats were teaching, yowling, biting and clawing at each other.

"Bird/Broken Wing"

This morning I saw a bird soring up at the sky. Suddenly it hit a tree with its left wing. The poor bird was yowling and looking straight at it broken wing. It started inching a long the grass.

As it was inching a long the grass, the shining sun was brighting on it.

Did not finish.

Elisa—Sample 13

Gorilla
Last weekend I went to the zoo, I went to see the snakes first, then I saw the Gorillas at the other side, I saw all this people trying to see the Gorillas suddely a boy had fell down in the Gorilla's cave or place. The Gorilla was far away but as sooniest it saw the boy, it started walking with its bit dirty feet, its hairy storng legs, its bouncing stomach, its long arms, hiting its schest making a loud noice, its black teeth, eyes and hairy head. I don't think it was a good experience for that little kid.

In these two texts Elisa is concentrating on writing vivid descriptions. In the Gorilla text, for example, one can see a clear growth in her ability to choose descriptive adjectives. For the first time, Elisa appears to be conscious of how to use English for specific effects.

Elisa—Sample 14

7/1/93
Mexican Wedding Cookies
Ingredients: 1/4 cup better
2 table spoon sugar "oven 325°"
1/2 teas spoon water
1/2 teas spoon vanilla
1/2 cup sifted flour
1/4 cup chopped nuts
Put the butter/sugar blend it for a little bit then add water/vanilla. Blend. Add flour/nuts/ Blend untill mix and kind of soft if not thats ok. Put it in the refregirater for four hour or next day. Make cookies. Put them in the oven for 20 mintutes.
When hot ROLL them in powdered
sugar.
AND YOUR DONE!

The recipe text included above displays another of Elisa's developing abilities. Here, once again, she writes directions as she might give them when speaking. In spite of the fact that she had read and used many recipes in English, she did not close to imitate "standard" recipe language. The text demonstrates that Elisa can indeed give directions in written English, but is also reflects the fact that she has not focused on peculiarities of style that will be essential to her becoming a near-native speaker and writer of English.

Samples 15 through 18 represent Elisa's continued growth and development as an English writer. In sample 15, for example, Elisa recounts an experience using strong descriptive language. She talks about the smells, the tastes, and the sounds she heard at the moment that she left Honduras. Elisa is now beginning to use language for effect.

Elisa—Sample 15
6/29/93
Flight

When I was leaving Honduras I remembed I was walking on the side walk to get on the plain, I remenbered I could smell gasoline with smoke, all I could taste was a salty water on my mouth, I could hear the people screaming good bye and the sound of the airplain as I walked in the airplain and touched the shakey seats made me so nervous. and as I saw all my friends and parents waiving at me goodbye. Thats a moment I will always remenbered.
Remember.

In sample 16 below, Elisa attempts an introduction. This an unfinished rough draft in which she intended to write about a text read by the class. It is interesting to read her first two sentences and the reformation of these first two sentences. Elisa is struggling

here to establish a historical frame from which she can they then talk about the Wakatzuki family. There is a growing awareness here of how a piece of writing begins.

Elisa—Sample 16

6/28/93
In these days of the wars japanese people are being send to camps and kick out of there own houses. they are given

In these days of the world war II japanase Americans are being send to camps and kickt out of there houses.

the American government is giving them not a very good place to live in the camps. They have to live in small barracks and not even pravacy to go to the bathroom and not a very good food.

Today we're going to consentrate on a Japanese Ameircan family that had been kict out of there house and send to the camp. This is a family of twelfve members this is wakatzuki family the man of the house has been send to jail because the government thinks he transpoted oil from here to japan on his ship. When he is only a fisherman. Now Mrs. Wakatzuki has to survive with her children which the youngest is 7 years old.

In sample 17 below, Elisa attempts to summarize a movie seen by the class in order to respond to the teacher's prompt asking for a discussion of the importance of the relationship between Mrs. Threadgood and Evelyn for the story told in the movie. As do many native-English-speaking beginning writers, Elisa begins by recounting the events in the story and perhaps assumes that the recounting itself is the main point of the writing. She responds superficially to the teacher's question. In Gentile's (1992) terms, this paper would perhaps be rated as an *attempted discussion* as follows:

> Paper includes several pieces of information and some range of information. In part of the paper, an attempt is made to relate some of the information (in a sentence or two) but relationships are not clearly established because ideas are incomplete or underdeveloped (the amount of explanation and details is limited).

Elisa—Sample 17
Essay-Fried Green Tomatos
First Copy

English
Essay

Fried Green
Tomatoes

The relationship between Mrs. Treadgood and Evelyn started when Evelyn went to visit her husband's sister which didn't like Evelyn at all.

On day Evelyn was waiting for her husband that was inside in some room visiting with his sister, outside in a couch. Mrs. Treadgood was walking around when she saw Evelyn seating there in that couch alone Mrs. Threagood started talking to Evelyn when suddenly she end up telling Evenlyn a story about a young girl named Ijie.

Evelyn would visit Mrs. Threadgood more often. During all that time Mrs. Threadgood would kept on telling Evelyn the story of Ijie. Suddenly they both realize that they were becaming good friends. Every time Evelyn visited Mrs. Treadgood she had bring something with her for Mrs. Treadgood. Kind of like a present for " " "

The reason why this relationship is so important to this movie, its because it Mrs. Treadgood wouldn't have met Evelyn, the story wouldn't had been told.

In spite of its limited discussion, however, from a speech act perspective, in sample 17, Elisa demonstrates that she is able to recount a story with some detail.

The final sample, sample 18, is a rough draft for a longer paper. Here Elisa's growing ability to talk about herself and her family is quite evident. Compared to where she began, a mere two years before, in this paper, Elisa displays a good control of English syntax and morphology. She also displays an increasing sense of organization. The three paragraphs in the text indicate that Elisa has now acquired a sense of the fact that different paragraphs focus on different topics. Her second paragraph, for example, is limited to discussing the place of origin of members of her family and the time that they have been in this country. In the final paragraph, she speaks exclusively about her family background and extended family.

Elisa—Sample 18
7/8/93

Family Essay Rough Draft

My family is made by four people, my sister whose name is Evelyn, my mom whose name is Magda and my dad whose name is Roberto and of course me. We all live in an apartment, my sister and I have (~~are~~) our (on) own room and my mom and dad have own their room too, we also have a little kitty for a pet. My mom and dad are always working so we go to school and most of the time we're busy doing work at home.

Not all the members of my family are from Honduras. My dad is from Guatemala and has lived here for five years already. My mom is from Honduras and she has live here for eight years already. My sister and I have lived here for two years already.

From the background of my dad, I don't know anything but from my mom backgrounds' I do know some. My (greatgram) great grandma's name is Maria Jesus, and her two son's names are Antonio and Alberto, her daughder's name is Herlinda. Herlinda is my mom's mom, which that means that she's my grandma. Nobody has the same names in the family They all have different names. I don't know why.

(and I can't ask because my mom is in the Hospital)

Elisa's Writing Development: A Summary

Overall, Elisa's writing development over a two-year period was impressive. She began by listing English words, and she ended by being able to perform a variety of speech acts in writing. Her English itself improved over time; although she did not receive direct instruction in English grammar directed at this purpose. The ESL instruction she did receive was limited to teaching basic English structures and vocabulary.

The greatest difference between Elisa and Lilian and Bernardo is that Elisa learned to speak and understand English quite well. She had access to English both in her mainstream classes at school and outside the school at church, with family friends, and with her mother's boy friend. She spoke English daily for real-life purposes, and she was motivated to communicate with many people that she liked who were monolingual speakers of English.

For Elisa writing in English was writing what she could already say. She approached writing as communication in written form and, at least in the beginning, considered success in writing to mean that she had been able to say what she truly wanted to say. She was not concerned about form or organization because she had little awareness of the importance of these two factors in academic writing.

In many ways, Elisa offers a profile of a student whose English language writing abilities emerged almost by themselves. For Elisa, what was important is that she was

encouraged and not discouraged by her teachers, that she began to see herself as a writer, and that she began to use writing to express her feelings.

Now that Elisa is in mainstream classes, the question will be whether she can develop the near-native abilities required for writing in present-day classrooms rapidly enough so that she will not be returned to the often- marginalizing ESL program.

Manolo

Like Elisa, Manolo made great progress in learning to speak English and in learning to write in English. Initially, during the first year at Garden School, Manolo was far superior to Elisa. Sample 1, for example, was written by Manolo during the first language assessment. It will be noted that unlike Elisa who primarily listed words, Manolo attempted to write a paragraph on the topic of Halloween. His choice is not entirely surprising, because Mrs. Wallace's class had just written a controlled composition on the same topic. As opposed to the guided composition, however, within which students had been expected to choose elements from a list of words and copy sentences, in sample 1, Manolo actually displayed his personal understanding of the event as well as his own opinion of Halloween. The text, however, contains many spelling errors, several attempts to write in English using Spanish spelling conventions, and no concept of sentence structure whatsoever. Nevertheless, considering that Manolo had been in this country only three months, this first writing sample is impressive indeed.

In terms of writing process, Manolo appeared to be translating from Spanish as he wrote. He was not, as was the case with Elisa, writing exclusively what he could already say in English.

Manolo—Sample 1
November, 1991

This is the naigt the Hallowen much people go to the strets for candies much people have mask the mommy, bat, or dracula ay like mask the bat or much more mask.

As was the case with the other students in Mrs. Wallace's class, Manolo wrote very little in the first year except for controlled compositions. Manolo, however, did attempt several small efforts at writing under Mrs. McGrath's direction. He produced samples 2 and 3 and entered them into the computer using the program *Writing Center*. At the time, Manolo had been identified by both Mrs. Wallace and Ms. McGrath as the classroom computer expert. At Ms. McGrath's request he entered the texts he produced into the computer and helped his classmates to do the same.

Manolo—Sample 2
2/92

The Kittiwakes

I like the air smalls fres and I see in the sky so many kittiwakes and the puffin they live in the rocks. The puffin come face to face froom Alaska. I like the puffin is so funny I see when the brid eat fish and play together.

Manolo—Sample 3
2/93

Valentines Day

Im in the street by my friend and I tinck about
Frebruary 14 Valentines Day and I said to my friend
lets made harts and my friend said but howo in paper
whe can draw pictures and my friend said whe neet
draw millions of pictures for evrione I like the idea.

Both samples included above were available to us only in their computer versions. We do not know whether the spelling errors contained in the text are genuine errors or simply the result of faulty data entry. What is evident from both texts, however, is that Manolo is attempting to display information about the kittiwakes and to recount his experiences in making valentines. His writing is perhaps comprehensible only to those individuals familiar with beginning ESL students.

By comparison, samples 4 and 5 are quite comprehensible. They are samples taken from Manolo's national parks project that once again reveal the effects of controlled composition on student writing. Here Manolo produces correct English sentences with identical structures. He does not attempt to communicate his own meanings.

Manolo—Sample 4
Social Studies, 4-28-92

The Grand Tetons

1. The Grand Tetons are very big.
2. Two elks were fighting.
3. The Grand Tetons are next to the Yellowstone National Park
4. I saw a valley in the park.
5. I saw a moose in a lake.
6. I saw duks flying.
7. I saw snow on trees.

Manolo—Sample 5

Social Studies
Carlsbad Caverns

Manolo Fuentes
5-5-92

1. I saw some stalactite.
2. I saw some stagmite.
3. I saw water color green.
4. The caverns are very big.
5. The caverns are under ground.

By May, 1992, however, Manolo was quite capable of communicating a number of different meanings in English both orally and in writing. During the second language assessment, for example, he wrote two texts. One text responded to a reading about Michael Jackson, and the other text talked about his early experiences in the United States. In the first text, sample 6, Manolo expressed his opinion about Michael Jackson and supported this opinion by giving reasons for his liking him. He communicated he thoughts quite clearly; although the text contains both spelling and punctuation errors.

Manolo—Sample 6

I like Michael Jackson because I like
ohw he dance he's very good dancing
some times I want to dance like him
And he's good singing too

The same growing communicative ability is evident in sample 7. Here Manolo displays his rapidly developing oral proficiency in English. This text uses a set of learned expressions that Manolo now produces in his spoken language. Like Elisa, his increasing fluency in writing is related to his increasing oral language competency. In this text, as compared to samples 1, 2, and 3, there is no evidence that Manolo is "thinking in Spanish", that is, that he is creating discourse in Spanish and then translating it into English.

There are a number of peculiar elements in this text. The overuse of the phrases: *it's going to be fun, it was fun* suggest that either Manolo did not truly understand the meaning of these phrases or that he was using them as fillers when he could not think of anything else to say or when he did not have a way of saying what he really meant. In spoken interaction, the use of such phrases especially among young people often suggests fluency and familiarity with English that may not truly be present. In written language the imprecise use of such expressions tends to stand out more clearly

Manolo—Sample 7

When I came to the U.S. in the airplane I was
skare because I think it's going to be fun.
But when you're here it's hard you don't no
about. The first day when I come to school
was fun because I can't find the rooms
it was fun. When I'm in my home it's
different I do my homework and I go out
with my bysicle I go out I go very far
away from by home and I think like a eagle
I want to fly because I really want to
fly. In the future I want to worck in the airforce.

By the end of the first year, then, Manolo developed the ability to write what he could already say. Sample 8 exhibits Manolo's growing ability to write about academic topics about which he could produce connected oral discourse. In this case, he rejects Mrs. Wallace's guided composition strategies and writes about the Grand Canyon. In this text, Manolo spells most words correctly and begins to attend to punctuation and capitalization. The paragraph itself is unfocused.

Manolo—Sample 8
6-3-92

Social Studies 1° Marcos Fonseca V.

I like the Grand Canyon because I saw
the climerock and think is interesting to
be one. I like the Grand Canyon because
because I saw the people on the rap and
the big river and the valley I never ben
there I like the waterfalls to. I think the
Grand Canyon is interesting like how was
made and how old it is.

The Second Year

By October of the second year of the study, Manolo had transferred to J.F.K. School in a nearby affluent community. He entered the third level of the ESL program that was designed to quickly mainstream newly arrived foreign youngsters of European or Asian background. (Manolo was one of about forty Latino students in the school). Mrs. Samuels, one of two ESL teachers, emphasized writing in her teaching.

At J.F.K., Manolo also enrolled in a creative writing class made up entirely of mainstream students and taught by a teacher who had recently arrived from Montana

who had no experience with limited-English-speaking students. In her class, Manolo produced texts such as the following:

Manolo—Sample 9

"A War"
The war was between Mexico and France, France was wining they were getting closer to the castle of getting. On the top of the castle the Mexican flag was still flying. If the French soliders pulled the falg down and raise up their own Mexico would be declared a part of France. As the French soldiers got closer to the castle, there were less people protecting the Mexican fort, in the castle were the kid heroes they were cadets from the army of Mexico. The oldest one was 16 the others were from 16 to 10. Most the the kid heroes died protecting the castle.
"They give their lives for their country."
The French soliders got in to the castle there were three kid heroes left, and some soldiers still protecting the castle the others got kill, the three kids that were left run to the top of the castle two died right on the top the one who was left got shoot he took the flag down put it around his body and he jump down the castle when he hit the ground he died. When the French soldiers found the flag and the kid they could not take over Mexico because the flag had blood on it Mexico had won the war.

When she shared this text with us, the teacher seemed a bit baffled. She did not quite understand what Manolo had tried to do. She had, nevertheless, responded to it and asked questions about meaning. She had not corrected his grammar or his punctuation. She was aware that she should discourage Manolo early writing attempts.

For us, Manolo's text was full of meaning. In it, he had tried to recount the tale of the *Niños héroes de Chapultepec* (the Boy Heroes of Chapultepec) known to every school child in Mexico. Since, however, Manolo had little sense of what his readers might need in order to make sense of his recounting, he provided no explanations that might have helped his teacher's understanding.

The text does show that Manolo was able to write longer segments of connected discourse to narrate and recount a historical event. Oral style, however, is still quite present in this text as is transfer from Spanish. Moreover, punctuation is non-existent.

The creative writing teacher did not give up on Manolo. She encouraged him to find whatever might interest him to write about, and she responded to his writing as a sympathetic and interested reader. She was delighted when Manolo published a "book" which was bound and displayed in the classroom.

The book, included here as sample 10, included both text and illustrations and was fourteen pages in length. Selected pages are included here.

This is not the title
This Book is about
something O.K.
Check it out page 1

The author
is me M.F.V.
This Book
is dedicated
go to last
Page.
PIcturees
M.F.V.
Story
M.F.V.
Etc. M.F.V. page 2

It was a beautiful day, a boy come reading a book	cartoon pictures of boys playing football and basket ball page 3

An other boy come to play basketball his name was Bubby he play basketball fo 10 to 15 minutes another he saw this other boy.	cartoon pictures of boys playing football and basket ball page 4

So, he went next to this other boy his name was tom. Bubby say, are you going to read that book all day. Tom say, yes. O.K. say bubby	cartoon pictures of boys playing football and basket ball page 5

Can I see the book with you say Bubby O.K. say Tom. That's a good picture man did you draw it? Yes, say Tom I draw it	cartoon picture of Bart Simpson wearing army uniform saying War Is Hell man General Bart Simpson." #1 page 6

Can I see the next picture ask Bubby. O.K. say Tom That's Bartman ask Bubby? yes say Tom you never saw Bartman before? : No, say Bubby It's **COOL MAN !!**	cartoon picture of Bart Simpson wearing Bat Man Costume saying Watch IT DUDE BARTMAN AVENGER of EVIL page 7

You will see my monster pice I mean my master pice at the end HA HA HA !! Can I see it now ask Buddy **NO ! ! ! say Tom** at the end O.K. O.K. say Bubby.	cartoon picture of Homer Simpson looking angry saying: HAMMER SAMPSUN I who spell my name?? 3 Come back here you little-! 2 I DID !! So, what!! page 8

.I like this picture! say Tom Me to says Bubby It's funny.	cartoon picture of Liza Simpson saying: 1 I'm going to tell Mom and Dad !! 2 YOUR ARE GOING To TELL THEM WHAT ! 3 JUST KITTING !! JUST KITTING MAN!! IWAS JUST KITTING NO !!!!!! page 9

	This book is dedicated to nobody, Thankyou Change my mind I dedicate this book to Erika and Jeidy I will be working in more pictures page 14

From looking at the richly illustrated book, two things are evident. Manolo draws quite well, and Manolo has a sense of humor. It also appears that he enjoyed writing what is really a book within a book. He elaborately sets up his two main characters Bubby and Tom who then read the book about Bart Simpson. This structure gave Manolo an excuse to draw cartoons, to write dialogue in bubbles, and to put into the mouth of Bart Simpson a number of somewhat disrespectful comments. Again, this project reveals Manolo's growing familiarity with teen-age slang and with colloquial English expressions.

Manolo produced other more "standard" texts as well. For example, he wrote two poems in his ESL class that are included here as samples 11 and 12. Manolo wrote these poems in preparation for writing about an autobiographical incident.

Manolo—Sample 11

English 6-7 Manolo Fuentes
I am Manolo Fuentes.
I wonder if Jeiry love me or not?
I feel very strange.
I fear of spiders.
I cry in side of me sometimes.
I touch others people mind.I see almost everything
I am Fuentes V.

Manolo—Sample 12

"The first time I walked with a girl"

The first time I walked with a girl,
I was thirteen, I was thinking about
her as I walke toward her, I looked to
her eyes, she looked at mine and held
them, and sddently it happen, I took
my girls hand in mine for two blocks
looking at her eyes until we where
breathing before a beautiful place.
I looked at her eyes agin I didn't
have to look at anything else or
say something.

Manolo Fuentes V.
Oct 29, 1992

In the second of these two poems, Manolo express his feelings in writing quite successfully and is able to recount an important moment in his life. He selects details skillfully. As was the case with Elisa, Manolo's English syntax is slowly becoming more native-like. Every now and then, a phrase or a sentence suggests Spanish transfer, but for the most part, Manolo writes using an oral English informal style.

As part of their preparation for writing more formally in their ESL class, Manolo and his classmates handed in their notes on writing drawn from Mrs. Samuels' lectures and other handouts. Samples of these notes written by Manolo are included below:

Manolo Fuentes V.
10-12-92

Autobiographical Incident (A.I.)

A.I. incident is a well told story a specific occurrance is a writer's life. It uses vivid, sensery details. The writer is able to analyze the event and tell the reader why the event was significant.

The A.I. who, what, where, when, why, (how) and feelings. In the opening parag

raph establish the setting, introduce the characters, and describe the basic situa ation.

In the middle paragraph(s) discuss the event.

In the last paragraph, conclude the event and tell the reader

Do the fina; copy on the computer and the date is Octuber 19

Manolo Fuentes V.
10-12-91
Part II
Organize the Parag

Rule write about things you know
well

Never add you support ideas to the
topic sentence

Make sure every sentence relate to the topic sentence.

Dont use sentence fragment

Fragments Unrelated ideas

add dtails why, what, how many, when
what kind, how often

Read your writing aloud

began with a (ing) or past tense verb

Start with becaus, if, unless although
until, as, son, as, whenever, sience in order that.
arranged begining sentence with
very sencens lenght ,arrange support
transittion are the glue that hold
sentence together for example

for instance	in general
first second etc.	however
on the other hand	indeed
after that	in fact
meanwhile	generally
in conclusion	trully
	and word + ly

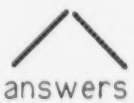
Sentence variety pkus transitions equal
paragraph unity End of part II

Social Studies Manolo Fuentes V.Perfect pharagraph

1 Topic Sentence
2 Support
3 Clincher

Topic Sentence

Support why? how? what?



State the main idea

Clincher a single paragraph needs a clincher. A clincher mail a cuestion if maybe funny a clinche words retat the topic sentence.

:

Whalch out for undeylerled ideas
don't be boring

Part III

English Manolo Fuentes

TS and C

A topic sentence clearly statess the maind idea in a paragraph

Topic sentenceces must be clear concise

Topic sentencece that Easy to prove, explain, sho

Before you write a topic sentence know you plan to support it!

A clencher can 1 restate the topic sentence 2 Refer to the topic sentence idea 3 End with a question end with an amusing thought

end with a twist or unexpected idea toug

combine endings

A clincher must be general enough to include
the whole paragraph

Rewrite

As these notes make clear, Mrs. Samuels (in comparison to Mrs. Wallace) spent a great deal of class time formally teaching about writing. As has been noted in our discussion about instruction at J.F.K. School, Mrs. Samuels also used an eclectic approach to teaching writing. Manolo, therefore, received instruction on writing paragraphs, on writing topic sentences, and on other aspects of organization and format.

During the year, Mrs. Samuels required her students to write several long papers: a biographical incident, a report of information and a speculation-about-effects paper. Students were expected to engage in pre-writing, in writing, and in revising and editing. Included below is the final draft of Manolo's speculation-about-effects paper.

SPECULATION ABOUT EFFECTS — ENGLISH 6-7 — MANOLO FUENTES

So many things can happen in ten years. Often, ten years can bring positive changes; Ten years can also provide difficult and negative situtations.

In 1983, I was four years old. I was a little chubby. I had black hair and I was not very tall then, I like to be heald and everybody liked to hold me. I lived with my parents, one brother and one sister. I'm the youngest one. I used to move a lot in my country and go on trips with my family. What I liked to do in those days was play all day, eat, and watch T.V. I didn't care about anything else.

In 1993 I'm thirteen years old, I have changed a lot in the last ten years. Now I care about manythings. I care about school, myself, and other people. Now I just don't like to play all day, there are many other things that I like to do. I like do homework, eat, play, and watch T.V. I might make my bed or cean room and I also care about how I look.

I can only guess what my life will be like in ten years. By 2003 my dream is to became a soldier or a marine, what I want to do there is learn new things and get to see new places. By that time I would have graduated from J.F.K. and and I might have played basketball in the school team, and also I will graduated from GREEN and maybe in that time I would have played some kind of musical intrument in the band, and by that time I will also have graduated from College and there I would have played basketball and music.

If my dream comes through positive things that can happen are that I will have been a good soldier or a good marine. I might have got to see new places and got lots of new frinends, and I would have learned lot's of new things.

If my dream coome through negative things that can happen might be that I might not get to see my family for a long time.
and I might not be able to spend time for my self like going on vacations
and have lot's of fun just by my self.

When I was a kid I didn't care about many things. There was some body else to take care of porblems and other things. But now, as I grow it seems that is almost my turn to do it. That's why I have to get ready for the future. that's why I get to do more new things, that's why I get more responsibilities and tha's why I have to learn lot's
of new things for the future Tha's why now I have to choose what I want to be so I can start making my own life. I want to become somebody and to fell, like somebody.

For this paper, Mrs. Samuels provided students with the overall structure: the introduction and the three main segments of the paper. Students worked on these segments over a period of time and finally put the entire paper together.

Manolo's version of the speculative paper reveals that he is able to describe both his past and his present and to speculate modestly about the effects of decisions and actions. The segments of the paper where he presents his speculations are not particularly detailed. According to Mrs. Samuels, this lack of detail was due, not to language limitations, but to general adolescent disinterest. At this point in the two-year period. Manolo was simply not "into school."

Compared to other ESL students, however, and even with Elisa, Manolo's writing revealed a growing control of written English style. We conjecture that Mrs. Samuels focus on the writing of multiple drafts helped Manolo to begin to differentiate between oral and written styles for different purposes.

What is evident is that at J.F.K. school, Manolo was treated like an intelligent, college-bound student. He was expected to be interested in and concerned about a number of different topics. A picture of Manolo's different interests as well as of his growing English and English writing abilities can be drawn from excerpts taken from his daily journal in Mrs. Samuel's class. Here we include a number of early entries as well as the last entries that were shared with us during the academic year.

Topic My first day of J.L.S. was
boring
1-I was doing nothing.
2- It was not interesting
3-I was tired

Support
1- Because I ran 1 mile
2-I was thinking in other things

3-Clincher a single paragraph needs a clincher
1-After that I went home
2- I ride my bike home3
- I got home fast

Manolo F Oct. 29, 1992

I'm proud of

I think I'm very proud
for all what I have done in
my life, I'm proud of learning
so fast all what I know, I'm
proud to have some good friends
and others not so good I'm proud
of all what I have done and think
the most important thing is that
I'm happy.

Election

1 Bill Clinton Win
2 Geoge Bush Loose And Perot too
3 Bill Clinton win the elections in most
of the States
4 Perot did not win in any state
5Bush win the election in 7 states I think
6inauguration day is in January 20, 1993

Manolo Fuentes
March 31, 93

My lenguage

My lenguage can
be hard and easy to learn
like all the others there is so
funny that not even the
people who can't speak
spanish can do it, is to
pronounse the letter t and
the letter l thogether it is
really funny to hear the
people who can't do it.

4, 30, 93

Warm

It has been real
warm in the last couple of days, I
can tell that in this
month it has been real
warm in the las few days
in lunch I've been burnign
to deth and after shool
at my house it is even
more warm I don't think
I'm going to like thius
summer.

Manolo F.
May 5, 93

Poetry

I was never though
about poetry until I came
to the U.S. When was
a kid I dind't kew anything
about poetry and I didn't
care, I started hering poetry
when I came here and I
now know that is very interesting.

Manolo's Writing Development: A Summary

The rate of development of Manolo's writing abilities over a two year period was impressive. Manolo began by writing short connected discourse, and he ended by writing a lengthy speculation-about-effects paper. At the beginning, before he had developed very much speaking ability in English, Manolo appeared to approach writing in English by relying on Spanish. As he developed more oral fluency, he began to write what he could say and to use a largely oral style for all of his writing.

The greatest difference between Elisa and Manolo is that Manolo received direct instruction in writing in English. He was taught what a paragraph was; he learned about introductions and conclusions; and he learned how to organize a major piece of writing.

Manolo's profile is one of an initially very determined student who received mediocre instruction in one school and outstanding instruction in another. Ironically enough, perhaps because of the intense competition at J.F.K., Manolo—as opposed to

Elisa—discovered that he was not the best. As compared to the writing of other ESL students in the school whose parents could help them directly, Manolo's writing did not stand out as outstanding. What is evident, nevertheless, is that Manolo, in the course of a two-year period, acquired enough English to carry out a number of speech acts in writing. He could display information (both personal and academic), explain, express personal opinion, justify his opinion, recount experiences, and express feelings. The length and fluency of his writing increased over time as did his attention to capitalization and punctuation.

Currently, Manolo is spending a second year in Mrs. Samuel's class. However, she has encouraged him to attempt all mainstream classes, including her own regular English class, during the second semester of the 93-94 school year. He is considered by Mrs. Samuels to be a competent writer who will continue to grow and develop as he is given access to regular mainstream instruction.

Writing Development and Developmental Levels

The writing abilities of the four focal students, Lilian, Bernardo, Elisa and Manolo, developed in both interesting and unexpected ways. In order to depict this development more precisely, we have elaborated a set of descriptions of the abilities revealed by students at different stages. This set of descriptions is included below.

It is important to point out that , like the *ACTFL Guidelines* used for the language assessment portion of this study, these descriptive statements focus on what students are able to do and *not* do. Unlike the *Guidelines, however*, these descriptions consider students' performance in the areas of communication, organization, and mechanics. Unlike the *Guidelines*, also, these descriptors are less concerned with the type of text (cards, lists, letters) produced by students than with the communicative functions they were able to carry out in writing. More importantly, perhaps, our descriptions attempt to offer more detail about the kinds of functions that students were able carry out in attempting to respond to the writing demands made by the school setting.

DESCRIPTION OF LEVELS OF DEVELOPING WRITING ABILITIES IN L2 STUDENTS

Levels	Communicative Tasks Performed	Organization	Mechanics
Level 1	Displays familiarity with English words	Writes lists of familiar English words.	Spells some words correctly. Uses Spanish spelling conventions to spell English words.
Level 2	Attempts to display information.	Writes simple unconnected sentences that he/she can produce orally. May also attempt to write by translating from L1	Sentences reflect transfer from student's L1. Spelling errors are frequent. Uses Spanish spelling conventions to spell English words. Does not attend to capitalization and punctuation.
Level 3	Provides personal information.	Can write very short connected discourse (two or three sentences) on topics about which he/she can produce connected oral discourse (e.g., family, self, school).	Sentences continue to reflect transfer from student's L1. Does not attend to capitalization and punctuation. Spelling errors are frequent. May still use Spanish spelling conventions to spell English words. Writing may reflect oral language pronunciation resulting in both spelling errors and non-native like features.

Levels	Communicative Tasks Performed	Organization	Mechanics
Level 4	Displays limited amounts of information. Explains at a very basic level.	Can write short connected discourse (a paragraph) on a limited number of academic topics about which he/she can produce connected oral discourse.	Sentences continue to reflect transfer from student's L1. Begins to attend to capitalization and/or punctuation. Spelling errors are frequent. Writing may still reflect oral language pronunciation resulting in both spelling errors and non-native like features.
Level 5	Displays larger amounts of information.	Can write longer segments of connected discourse. Writes single very long paragraphs. Includes many unrelated ideas in the same paragraph.	Sentences continue to reflect transfer from student's L1. Some basic syntactic patterns are still not mastered. Begins to write compound sentences. Capitalization and punctuation are still not mastered. Uses an exclusively oral style

Level 6	Displays information to show that she knows to show that she read Explains. Expresses personal opinion. Justifies opinion. Recounts experiences in writing.	Demonstrates little or no audience awareness. Has little notion of text organization but begins to use several "paragraphs." Continues to include unrelated ideas in the same paragraph. Uses idiosyncratic unconventional criteria for selection of supporting details.	Sentences continue to reflect transfer from student's L1, but basic syntactic patterns have been mastered. Punctuation may still not be mastered. Uses an exclusively oral style
Level 7	Displays information to show that she knows to show that she read Explains more fully. Expresses personal opinion. Justifies position. Recounts experiences in writing. Expresses feelings in writing Narrates	Sense of audience begins to develop Growing sense of text organization emerges.	Growing ability to choose language for its precise meanings begins to emerge. Awareness of variety of styles used in writing for different purposes emerges.

In presenting the above set of descriptions it is our purpose to try to capture some of the many features present in the writing of our focal students as well as the abilities and proficiencies reflected in the writing. We must emphasize the fact, however, that these descriptions are based on a study of writing abilities which students developed in instructional programs that were less than ideal and that were not directly concerned with writing.

What we can say by using the above descriptors is that three of our students (Lilian, Bernardo, and Elisa) initially began as Level 1 writers and that one of our students (Manolo) began at Level 2. In the educational settings we have described in this report, two of our students (Lilian and Bernardo) developed writing limited abilities

characteristic of Level 3 at the end of a two-year period. Two other students, Elisa and Manolo, both reached Level 7.

We can only conjecture about the next levels of development in the writing of students like Manolo and Elisa. From we saw of their work, however, we believe that they would profit from direct instruction in writing.

We are not optimistic, however about the possibility that many or most students will progress as rapidly as did Manolo and Elisa. Indeed, when we use our set of descriptions to evaluate the writing produced by eighth graders as they left Mrs. Wallace's classroom, we realize that Bernardo and Lilian's development were perhaps more typical of ESL students currently in American schools. Below we include texts which were written at the end of the first year of the study by all eighth grade students in Mrs. Wallace's NEP class. These students wrote these texts as part of a writing test that would help determine their ESL placement in high school. Many of the students who were tested had been in the class two and even three years. The texts were produced by the students in response to the following prompts:

1. Beginner
Write a paragraph about yourself and your family. (For example, where are you from? Who are the members of your family? Where do you live? etc.)

2. Intermediate
Tell about your favorite movie. Give the name and tell the story.

3. Advanced
If you could spend one day doing anything you wished, where would you go and what would you do? Please give a detailed account of your activities on this special day.

Student 1

I'm family is all the Japanese.
We from the Japan.
They are my family father, mother, lite brother x2 and me!
We lives America in Cercos Park California.
But my glandmother, in the Japan.
I'm go to the Garden Middle School everday.

Student 2

I am Maria.
I like to go to the school I lik
my teacher because She's nice. I first came
from Mexico to California I live and Cercos
Park California I have six brother the first
one is fernando the Secend is Isabel and
the next is two boys and and a little sister
and me My father is Luis Romero
my mother is Soledad Quevedo I have
one cousin here. My father work in
the restaurant. I like to life here

because is beautiful and I have many
friends in this contry and Mexico too
I love Mexico to moch because I have
my other family and my grandmother
my grand father every body so I like to
go back and vacations.

Student 3
I am mexican? I like to eat foot
I like to dase. I from four Mexico
I like my family.

Student 4
I came from mexico
i live in cercos park my family
live with me i have 2 sisters and 1 brother
i got family in mexico too i got my
father in mexico and i got family
in here too I go to Garden Middle
School my sister go to Cedar School
i have a baby brother
my mother work in the pizza.

Student 5
Hi I'm Julio, I'm from Mexico.
I live in Cercos Park, I like this contre
because is so big and all the people
is nce. my coute is nice to but
I don't like when the people fight.
My grandfather is ded.
I like to run and baskedball my
father is in Mexico my grandmother
is in Mexico too, Wow that all
I can say.

Student 6
I live in Nevada st. Cercos Park # 9.
my family live in Calfoirnia to
I have to ont day live in San francisco.
I have my mother and my brothers
my mother work in ridu city
en my brother work cline house
I have four borther en two sister

Student 7
En my house Lived my father
sister, boy, man, en family
Name my school is Garden middle school
Name my teacher is Mrs. Wallace y Mrs Maphy
yo Lived en Cercos Park California.
my grade is # 8
Yo nace en Mexico

Student 8
I have thee drovars and my family and
I live Cercos ParK California and I live
Mexico D.F is vita for and I have ancos
and I govat to mexico D.F

Like Lilian and Bernardo, these eight students did not make much progress in English. At the high school level, they were once again placed at the lowest level of ESL instruction. Our set of descriptions would place some of these students at Level 2 and some at Level 3. The question for us—as it is for most researchers who work in the area of second language acquisition—is how to sort out instruction, access to English, and individual motivation. Our project has documented the fact that dramatic growth in English language development and in English language writing is possible. It has also documented the fact that most ESL instruction is traditional and limited. In such instructional settings, without outside access to English, students make very little progress.

"Making It" in Mainstream Classrooms

While viewed by many as a positive step forward, the current national focus on writing and on the development of writing skills has led to what may be an untenable situation for those students in American schools whose first language is not English. What has happened is that as approaches to the teaching of writing have changed, and as steps have been taken to ensure the fact that writing is valued and carried out even in the earliest grades, both educators and researchers have failed to take into account how these new practices will affect the education of non-English-background students. It is often expected, especially from mainstream English teachers, that before these students are allowed to exit from the ESL support track and permitted to enroll in mainstream classes, they should be able write like their native-English-speaking peers.

Conversely, it is also assumed and accepted that, when non-English background students cannot write at this expected level, this must mean that they are not ready for "mainstream" classes and should instead be retained in special subject matter or English-language classes designed exclusively for such students. Many "mainstream" teachers argue that they have not been trained to deal with developing English-

language systems and that they should not be expected to grade students differently simply because they are still learning the English language. Some teachers firmly believe that if students cannot talk or write about what they are learning, they must not be learning at all. In practice, these assumptions and expectations are problematic because they result in the ghettoization of non-English-background students.

The question to be asked about these students and about the mainstream classes that many of them hope to enter is: how much English is enough English? How well must they have mastered the different levels of language before they are considered "teachable" by regular (i.e., non ESL) teachers? The problem is that there is little information about developmental levels in writing for mainstream students. If we knew how well, for example, most eighth graders could write, if we knew how well mainstream students have mastered both mechanics and organization by different ages and grades, we would then be able to ascertain whether and to what degree ESL students were like or unlike these youngsters. Decisions about placement could then be made by looking both at the true (rather than imagined) level of mainstream writers as well as the levels of ability developed by second language learners.

As it is, when working with ESL writers, mainstream teachers often focus on language itself and its non-native-like features. Often they cannot look beyond "errors" that they do not know how to begin to correct. They fail to consider other characteristics of the writing produced by these students.

And indeed language imperfections are very much present in the writing of most English language learners. As we examine the very impressive progress made in the development of English language writing abilities by Manolo and Elisa, it becomes quite evident that they are a long way away from being able to use English like native speakers. If we focus primarily on English language form, and if we consider, for example, the scoring guide prepared by Gentile (1992) for NAEP's Portfolio Study, we will immediately be struck by the fact that standards established for native speakers at the fourth and eighth grade levels appear to be very difficult for second language learners. For the most part, these learners are still in the process of developing higher-level productive skills in English. At our Level 7, for example, they are barely beginning to develop sensitivity to differences in register and style. Moreover, they have not yet completely acquired the functional abilities needed in order to produce *elaborated stories*, *developed discussions*, and *developed refutations*.

If we decide to pursue this line of reasoning further, and if we use the "Persuasive Scoring Guide" (Gentile, 1992:23) as an example, we can identify the following levels of written communicative abilities required to produce different kinds of persuasive papers.

Type of paper	Written Communicative Abilities Required
Opinion	Can state opinion.
Extended opinion	Can state opinion Can give reasons for opinion Does not explain reasons Cannot give coherent explanations
Partially Developed Argument	Can state opinion Can give reasons for opinion Can support at least one explanation through the use of rhetorical devices Can briefly summarize opposing point of view
Partially Developed Refutation	Can state opinion Can give reasons to support opinion Can explain reasons Can attempt to discuss or refute opposite point of view Can give adequate summary of opposing point of view
Developed Refutation	Can state opinion Can give reasons to support opinion Can explain reasons Can discuss or refute opposite point of view Can produce a clear and explicit refutation Can summarize opposite point of view Can state why opposite point of view is limited or incorrect

As will be evident, by comparing the above descriptions of functional abilities required for the writing of good persuasive papers with those we elaborated for L2 students, we can determine that—even at Level 7—ESL these students have barely begun to develop the functional abilities essential for producing this kind of writing. Manolo and Elisa were doing well by just beginning to express their opinions. There is much that they must learn before they will be able to use rhetorical devices, to summarize opposing points of view, or to produce explicit and clear refutations. We conjecture that it will take students who reach Level 7 several years before they will be able to produce what Gentile terms *developed arguments* and *discussions*.

The information about the levels achieved by fluent English-speaking writers contained in the NAEP study, however, is encouraging. A very small minority of the students whose portfolios were examined were able to produce *developed* and *elaborated stories* or *partially developed* and *developed discussions*. None of the students in either fourth or eighth grades produced *partially developed* or *developed refutations*.

What this suggests is that mainstream teachers need to be made aware of the actual abilities found among native English speaking writers so they can make valid comparisons between mainstream and non mainstream students. From the NAEP

study, for example, it would appear that Manolo and Elisa are not very far from the typical American eighth grade student. The principal difference is that fluent English speakers have the linguistic resources to be able to craft arguments and to summarize opposing views. English language learners, on the other hand, are still in the process of acquiring the language itself.

For ESL students like Manolo and Elisa to make it in the mainstream will require that teachers engaged in the teaching of writing be willing to teach these students how to support their opinions, how to summarize opposing views, and how to refute, discuss, and explain. They must do so, however, in the face of "imperfect" English. Without teachers' willingness to tolerate occasionally- fractured syntax, ESL students may well spend their high school years writing only controlled compositions and meaningless drills.

CONCLUSIONS

The research that has been described in this report had as its purpose describing the acquisition of writing abilities in English at the secondary level by non-English-background students. Very specifically, this project sought to investigate the writing of incipient bilinguals (individuals who were in the initial process of acquiring a second language) by focusing on the following questions:

- How does writing ability grow and develop in students who are in the process of acquiring English?
- What is the relationship between other areas of language proficiency development (e.g., oral language development) and written language development?
- What is the nature of the challenges that are experienced by these students in learning to write in English?
- How do these challenges change across time?
- What are the commonalties across students?
- What are the dimensions of variation?
- What expectations do teachers have of these students and are these expectations appropriate?
- How do instructional programs reflect teacher expectations?
- What level(s) of writing skill development can be expected after a two-year period in the different types of instructional contexts observed?

In the section that follows we will address these questions under four general categories: (1) the relationship between other areas of language proficiency and written language development; (2) instructional programs and teacher expectations about students' writing ; and (3) levels of skill development that can be developed after a two-year period by non-English-background students.

1. The relationship between other areas of language proficiency and written language development

The research the we conducted with Latino students clearly suggests that there is a strong relationship between the development of other areas of language proficiency and the development of written language abilities. Very specifically, our research offers strong support for the position that the development of writing abilities is directly related to the development of oral productive skills. All four of the focal students in the study relied on their developing oral proficiency, that is, on the productive modality

they most frequently used in order to write in English. We found no evidence that students attempted to translate from Spanish in order too construct English texts.

Our conclusions about the interrelationship between oral and written productive skills for Latino students raises important questions about the writing process in second language learners in general. For Asian students, for example, it appears to be the case that individuals who cannot produce or are unwillingly to produce oral language nevertheless display advanced written language abilities. Often the texts produced by such individuals reflect a level of language development not apparent when they attempt to use spoken English.

There are two ways to interpret these results. One interpretation would hold that for both Latino students and Asian students the development of productive language skills is basic. This view would take the perspective that If (at some abstract level) students cannot produce sentence length segments or chunks of well-formed language in L2, they will be unable to either speak or write the language. From this perspective, both Latino and Asian students would be considered to be basing their written language proficiency on the development of a general productive ability—that is on an ability to produce (rather than comprehend) the new language. The Latino students, such as those we studied closely, developed a productive ability in the oral language. They acquired an oral interactional style. The relationship between what they could say and what they could write was directly evident. Asian students, on the other hand, may first acquire a productive *written* , rather than *oral*, style. Like the Latino students, Asian students will have also developed *productive* skills in the language. These productive skills, however, do not involve interactional abilities in the spoken language. They are limited to the written register of the language to which they have been exposed in instruction. From this perspective, then, the development of writing ability—in both groups—would be seen to depend directly on the development of productive, as opposed, to receptive skills.

A different interpretation of these results would hold that it is possible for individuals who have not acquired the ability to produce meaningful segments in their second language to construct written texts by relying primarily on their first language. From this perspective, it would be considered possible for students to compose texts in their first language, to translate them at the word for word level, and to edit them using a set of selected grammatical rules which focus on the principal differences between the native and the target language. In our opinion, the likelihood of this kind of a process resulting in acceptable second language texts is quite low. However, the characteristics of some of the texts produced by Asian students suggest that a combination of strategies is used. Students use their developed productive skills in the written register and complement their ability to used meaningful chunks of language with a selective use of translation and careful editing.

We suggest that additional research needs to be conducted that focuses on these two very different approaches to writing in a second language. Our research on Latino students points to the fact that using the spoken oral register in order to write can be an effective tool for beginning L2 students. It is not clear, however, whether using such a strategy exclusively will result in students' acquiring the written language register as rapidly as needed in order to succeed in American schools.

2. Instructional programs and teacher expectations about students' writing

The research conducted with the four Latino students in three different middle schools made evident to us that instruction and teacher expectations were directly related to the opportunities that students had to develop their written language abilities. Teachers' and schools' views about students' backgrounds, educational preparation, and possible futures directly colored their instructional programs. Low expectations resulted in little access to good language instruction and in little access to English within the school setting.

Our research in two of the three schools we studied, for example, revealed that, as school districts struggled to make sense of their responsibilities to new immigrant students, teachers and administrators are confused and overwhelmed. To the degree that they know little about what students bring with them from their home countries, school personnel tend to look upon language limitations as if they were permanent intellectual limitations. Negative attitudes about student abilities lead to isolation and to segregation. At both Garden and Crenshaw, LEP and NEP students had no contact with English speaking youngsters. They relied solely on their teachers for access to English. In one school, the ESL teacher conducted largely silent classes in which students primarily filled in worksheets. These students had few opportunities to begin to develop English language competencies.

It is important to point out, however, that the teachers that we studied were working under very difficult circumstances. Many new immigrant students soon become rowdy and undisciplined; and as their boredom increased, as they began to see that school in the United States for them involved hours of meaningless busy work, they became restless and disrespectful. They often misinterpreted teachers' calm and gracious styles as weakness. Like adolescents everywhere, many students pushed the system, refused to learn, and took much delight in mocking their teachers in order to amuse their peers.

In classrooms, such as those we visited, we saw examples of teachers of good will who were overburdened by the growing number of Latino, non-English-speaking students entering the school. Some of these teachers had been trained to teach ESL to well-educated adult foreigners. Some had had no experience teaching ESL in middle school, and they not know how to teach or what to teach in order to provide students with the kinds of academic English skills that they would need to survive in mainstream classrooms. Because their training had not included content-based language teaching or even teaching language for special purposes, teachers in two programs of the three that we studied followed traditional, grammar-based syllabi. Students focused on vocabulary and sentence structure, and did little oral work, little reading, and little writing. Only exceptional students like Manolo and Elisa learned enough English to attempt to leave the program. Ironically enough, they were not encouraged to do so.

What we found in two of the schools, for example, was exactly what was found by Minicucci and Olsen (1992) and by the Council of Chief State School Officers (1993). Indeed we would concur with the following statement issued by the Council (CCSO) as a result of their study:

> Middle schools and high schools are a disaster area. A lot needs to be done because the student is being impacted.

> Attitudes are our number one problem—attitudes of the guidance staff, administration, and more importantly teachers. They have low expectations at this level because it is viewed as they [students] will be out of the system in a little while and there is nothing they can really do.
>
> (*Concerns*, 1992:2)

At Garden School, for example, two ESL teachers and a few brave souls who agreed to teach "sheltered courses" were totally responsible for increasingly large numbers of NEP and LEP students. At the time that the study ended, the school's population was 40% Latino, and at least half of the number could be classified as NEP or LEP. Mainstream teachers—especially English teachers—, however, wanted no part of the problem. As content teachers, they had not been trained to carry out sheltered instruction or to deal with the challenges of teaching subject matter to students who could barely understand English. The teachers who were involved in sheltered instruction had taken special inservice courses and were bravely creating their own materials. But the challenges and the responsibilities were tremendous.

The Crenshaw solution was perhaps even worse. In this case, all newly arrived and limited-English speakers spent the entire day (except for P.E.) in a single classroom. There was not even the pretense of giving them access to the wider curriculum. The age range (5th through 8th grade) was enormous, and the very traditional curriculum ensured the fact that students who had no extra help somewhere would not make much progress.

In spite of the inadequacy of the programs, we found that it was still possible for students to learn English. Even though she was enrolled exclusively at Garden School, Elisa managed to become quite fluent in English, to think of herself as successful, and (with help of friends and others) to escape from the ESL ghetto when she entered high school.

We would argue, on the basis of our close observation of our four focal students, that much could have done for Lilian and especially for Bernardo. If he had been seen as a strong student in his own language who was prepared for challenges here, if he had been taught to read quickly using his existing skills in Spanish, if he had been given direct instruction in comprehending spoken academic English immediately, he might have been much more like Elisa than he was.

Our research has persuaded us that much needs to be done immediately about the teaching of ESL at the middle school level. Three hours per day of ESL instruction—which was the length of time available in Mrs. Wallace's NEP class—must result in much more than what Bernardo and Lilian accomplished. For language teachers everywhere who are used to fifty minutes of instructional time, three hours is a gift of incredible proportions. However, as was the case at Garden School, the time is not being used well. Steps must be taken immediately—as the CCSO also suggested—to train future ESL teachers and practicing ESL teachers to discard outdated English-as-a second-language methodologies. We cannot continue to blame students for not learning English, when they are being taught poorly or not being taught at all.

3. Levels of skill development that can be developed after a two-year period.

The work carried out with the four Latino focal students allowed us to begin to describe the levels and stages of development that these students experienced over a two-year period and to offer to the profession a point of departure for working with limited-English-speaking students and for conducting future research. Very specifically, the analysis of the texts produced by the Latino students allowed us to elaborate a set of descriptions of their developing English language proficiencies in writing. What our descriptions reveal is what is possible in two years for *some* students. What they also reveal, however, is that growth takes place slowly and often involves small steps. For example, for two of our focal students going from listing unrelated words to being able to display personal information in one or two sentences involved a period of two years.

If these descriptions are useful it is because they can suggest that in two years even students who start at zero can reach the point where they can carry out speech acts—like explaining, describing, and narrating—in writing. For Latino students, this was possible when these youngsters were able to acquire the ability to carry out these same speech acts in the oral language. When they could display information orally, they were then able to begin to display this information in writing as well. What this implies is that it is important for teachers to help students to develop functional oral abilities in English. Once these are in place, they may provide—as they did for the students in this study—an important point of departure from which the teaching of writing can proceed.

For ESL teachers, these sets of descriptions can serve as an indication of what is possible. For mainstream English teachers, these descriptors can suggest that in spite of shortcomings in organization and in mechanics, students at Levels 6 and 7 can indeed communicate quite effectively in the written language. In a very direct way, the set of descriptions is also intended to suggest that for ESL students—as is the case for mainstream students—organization and mechanics are quite separate. Students can learn how to structure paragraphs even if they have not yet mastered the niceties of punctuation. More importantly, however, it appears that over time and without direct instruction many mechanical "errors" work themselves out.

ESL students face many challenges. Even after two years the most motivated and best students in our study were not quite native-like in their writing. There was much that they did not know; there was much that they had never been exposed to. As opposed to English monolingual students who have been surrounded by texts of different kinds all of their lives, ESL students had limited exposure to the traditions of written edited English. What Elisa and Manolo are only now beginning to learn is that, in academic writing, it is not enough simply to communicate meaning. Someone needs to teach them, however, what they may never learn by themselves. Someone needs to point out to them—as Pamela Samuels did in her class—the many features that under gird well-written texts. With a bit of attention and good will, mainstream teachers can work well with the Manolos and the Elisas. All that they need is to be tolerant of these students' remaining limitations in the language itself.

The Bernardos and the Lilians are a larger problem. If instruction is as bad in the high schools as Minicucci and Olsen (1992) and the Council of Chief State School Officers (1993) maintain, we cannot be optimistic. At best, we can hope that they and

students like them will not drop out before twelfth grade. At worst, we can expect that, in spite of staying in school, they will fail the writing segments of the high school competency tests required in many states and that, in the end, they will still not graduate from high school.

This part of the study has documented four students' experiences in "learning" English in American middle-schools. The picture that we present of how instruction is conducted in the ESL classrooms we visited is not a bright one. Moreover, the questions that we asked about the development of writing were found to be inextricably linked to questions concerning second language acquisition itself. There are important implications in our findings about instruction and about written language development as it parallels the development of productive abilities. Additionally, the texts we collected, along with our careful descriptions of students' growth in their English language acquisition, can offer both practitioners and researchers valuable longitudinal data that can serve as a basis both for further research and for the improvement of instruction itself.

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Appendix A

Assessment Questionnaires and Procedures Used for Assessing English Language Proficiency

English Language Assessment--Level 1

This is the language assessment to be given in the Fall, 1991. Interview should begin by setting child at ease in his first language. After this is accomplished, explain that you want to see how much English he/she knows so that over the school year you can measure his /her progress. Say that you are sure that he knows a lot more English than he/she thinks. **Record the interview in its entirety.**

As far as possible, interview should resemble a conversation using foreigner talk as needed. The point is to see how far in the oral language skills a student can get. It is not expected that most students will get very far on this. Questions 3 and 4 may help us figure out what else we should ~~ex~~include that we have not covered.

Stop when student clearly cannot go any further. Do not make him/her feel frustrated or incompetent. Do the reading next and leave the writing for last.

Oral Language Skills

1. (To be asked in First Language)

   Tell me where you hear English in the course of your everyday life.

2. Contact with English (To be asked in First Language)

   Tell me who in your family or which close friends speak English.

3. Cataloguing of English Knowledge (To be asked in First Language)

   -Tell me some things that you can say in English. Either words or phrases or whatever you can think of.

4. Perceptions about English Knowledge (To be asked in First Language)

   Tell me some things you can do with English. (Can you insult someone? Can you ask for help?)

   Tell me some places that you go to where you have to use English.

5. Personal Indentification. (Explanation to be given in First Language) **Let's pretend that I don't know you at all. Let me ask you some questions in English about yourself.**

   What is your name?

   Where do you live?

   What is your telephone number?

   Where were you born?

   What is your age? / How old are you?

   What is your nationality?

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What school do you go to?
What grade are you in?

What is your favorite activity?
Tell me some things that you like. Do you like girls?/boys? Do you like icecream? Do you like pizza?

6. Life at Home (Explanation to be given in First Language)

Tell me about your family.
What is your father's name? your mother's name?
How many brothers and sisters do you have?
What are their names?
How old are they?
Do they go to school?
Where do your parents work?

Tell me about what you do every day.
What time do you get up?
What do you do after that? (repeat as needed)
What time do you have breakfast, lunch, dinner?
What time do you go to school?
What do you do in the evening?
What do you do on weekends?

7. Education and future career.

Tell me about your school?
Where is your school?
What time does school start?
What classes do you have?
What is your favorite class?
What do you like best about school?
What would you like to work when you finish school?

8. Free time and entertainment

What kind of music do you like?
What are your favorite TV shows?
What kinds of movies do you like?
Do you have any hobbies?

9.. Health and welfare/ Shopping/ Food and drink/ Services (These are all role plays. Instructions for role plays will be given in First Language)

Pretend that you are in a store. I am the shopkeeper. Ask me if I have a particular product and ask how much it costs.

Pretend that you are sick and are trying to see a doctor. I am a nurse and you have to tell me what is wrong with you first.

I am the telephone operator. Place a call to your uncle in _____. You are calling from a pay phone and have no money.

I am a waitress in an American restaurant. Order an elegant dinner for yourself and a friend. When you have finished eating. Ask for the check.

10. Ability to understand connected discourse after advanced organizer is given. (Instructions to be given in First Language)

I am going to tell you about a girl who just arrived in the US. Listen carefully and tell me everything that you remember about her.

I am going to tell you about my car. Listen carefully and tell me five things about my car.

Written Language Assessment

1 Reading (Instructions to be given First Language)

Go through this magazine with me and find something you want to read. Read it and then tell me about it.

2. Writing (Instructions to be given in First Language)

I want you to write about a half page in English about one of the following subjects.

My school

My family

First Language Literacy Skills Assessment

The purpose of this assessment is to get an idea of how well kids read and write in their first language.

Part 1- Reading

Offer student a selection of different materials in the first language. (3 or 4 school-like books, a magazine, and a newspaper). Ask the student to choose one of the materials and to read from it. (Pick out a selection from each book in advance for this purpose.)

Have student read silently unless he prefers to do so outloud. When he is finished, ask questions-- both literal and inferential --that you have prepared on the particular reading. Record this interaction.

Ask the student why he chose the particular reading material.

Part 2- Writing (2 tasks)

This task should parallel what student did in English writing. Have him write on the same topic in Spanish that he wrote on before in English.

Part 3- Academic Reading and Writing

Choose the same text that the student chose before. Ask him to read a page or so and then write a summary of what he read.

English Language Assessment--Level 2

This is the language assessment to be given in the Spring, 1992. Interview should begin by setting child at ease in his first language. After this is accomplished, explain that you want to see how much English he/she has learned during the school year Say that you are sure that he knows a lot more English than he/she thinks. **Record the interview in its entirety.**

As far as possible, interview should resemble a conversation using foreigner talk as needed. You will be using far more English here than you did on the first assessment. Essentially, use English for instruction and the like and watch to see if student is comprehending. If he is not, change to first language. The point is to see how much the student has progressed in his development of English in both receptive and productive skills.

Stop each task when you feel that you have a good sense of how much growth the student has experienced in each of the areas we covered in our first assessment. You will notice that we will be repeating all of the tasks done last time, but we will also be adding an "academic" proficiency task as well.

It is expected that you may need an hour for the oral language assessment and another hour for the reading and writing assessment. You may want to carry out the assessment on two separate days.

Oral Language Skills

1. (To be asked in English first ---If not understood, use L1)

   Tell me where you hear English in the course of your everyday life.

2. Contact with English (To be asked in English first ---If not understood, use L1)

   Tell me who in your family or which close friends speak English.

3. Cataloguing of English Knowledge (To be asked in English first ---If not understood, use L1)

   -Tell me some things that you can say in English. Either words or phrases or whatever you can think of.

4. Perceptions about English Knowledge (To be asked in English first ---If not understood, use L1)

   Tell me some things you can do with English. (Can you insult someone? Can you ask for help?)

   Tell me some places that you go to where you have to use English.

5. Personal Indentification. (To be explained in English first ---If not understood, use L1) Conduct this as closely as possible like a real conversation. Encourage the child to elaborate if he appears to have the ability.

Let's pretend that I don't know you at all. Let me ask you some questions in English about yourself.

What is your name?
Where do you live?
What is your telephone number?
Where were you born?
What is your age? / How old are you?
What is your nationality?
What school do you go to?
What grade are you in?

What is your favorite activity?
Tell me some things that you like. Do you like girls?/boys? Do you like icecream? Do you like pizza?

6. Life at Home (To be explained in English first ---If not understood, use L1) Conduct this as closely as possible like a real conversation. Encourage the child to elaborate if he appears to have the ability.

Tell me about your family.
What is your father's name? your mother's name?
How many brothers and sisters do you have?
What are their names?
How old are they?
Do they go to school?
Where do your parents work?

Tell me about what you do every day.
What time do you get up?
What do you do after that? (repeat as needed)
What time do you have breakfast, lunch, dinner?

What time do you go to school?
What do you do in the evening?
What do you do on weekends?

7. Education and future career.

Tell me about your school?
Where is your school?
What time does school start?
What classes do you have?
What is your favorite class?
What do you like best about school?
What would you like to work at when you finish school?

8. Free time and entertainment

What kind of music do you like?
What are your favorite TV shows?
What kinds of movies do you like?
Do you have any hobbies?

9.. Health and welfare/ Shopping/ Food and drink/ Services (These are all role plays. Give instructions in first language. Remind children that they have done these before. Check your transcripts and notes and do exactly the same task(s) you did before

Pretend that you are in a store. I am the shopkeeper. Ask me if I have a particular product and ask how much it costs.

Pretend that you are sick and are trying to see a doctor. I am a nurse and you have to tell me what is wrong with you first.

I am the telephone operator. Place a call to your uncle in _____. You are calling from a pay phone and have no money.

I am a waitress in an American restaurant. Order an elegant dinner for yourself and a friend. When you have finished eating. Ask for the check.

10. Ability to understand connected discourse after advanced organizer is given. (Instructions to be given in First Language)
Note: use only if the child has had trouble understanding all the way along and there has been little progress in English language skills. If the child has been understanding your English instructions in the tasks above, omit this step.

I am going to tell you about a girl who just arrived in the US. Listen carefully and tell me everything that you remember about her.

I am going to tell you about my car. Listen carefully and tell me five things about my car.

11. Academic language proficiency- Ability to understand explanations/follow directions. Explain in first language that you are going to give child directions and that he should follow them. You will have all the appropriate props with you and laid out on the table. In all cases, do not slow down your speech. Talk exactly as you might to a class you yourself might be teaching.

I am going to tell you a little bit about the island of Hawaii. Take a sheet of paper from the table and take notes on what I say. After I finish, I'm going to ask you to remember three important things that I said. Talk about Hawaii, pointing to the map as you talk.

Hawaii is a group of islands located in the Pacific Ocean. They are located 2,400 miles southwest of California. The state of Hawaii includes eight large islands and many tiny islands. Honolulu, located on the island of Oahu, is the capital and largest city.

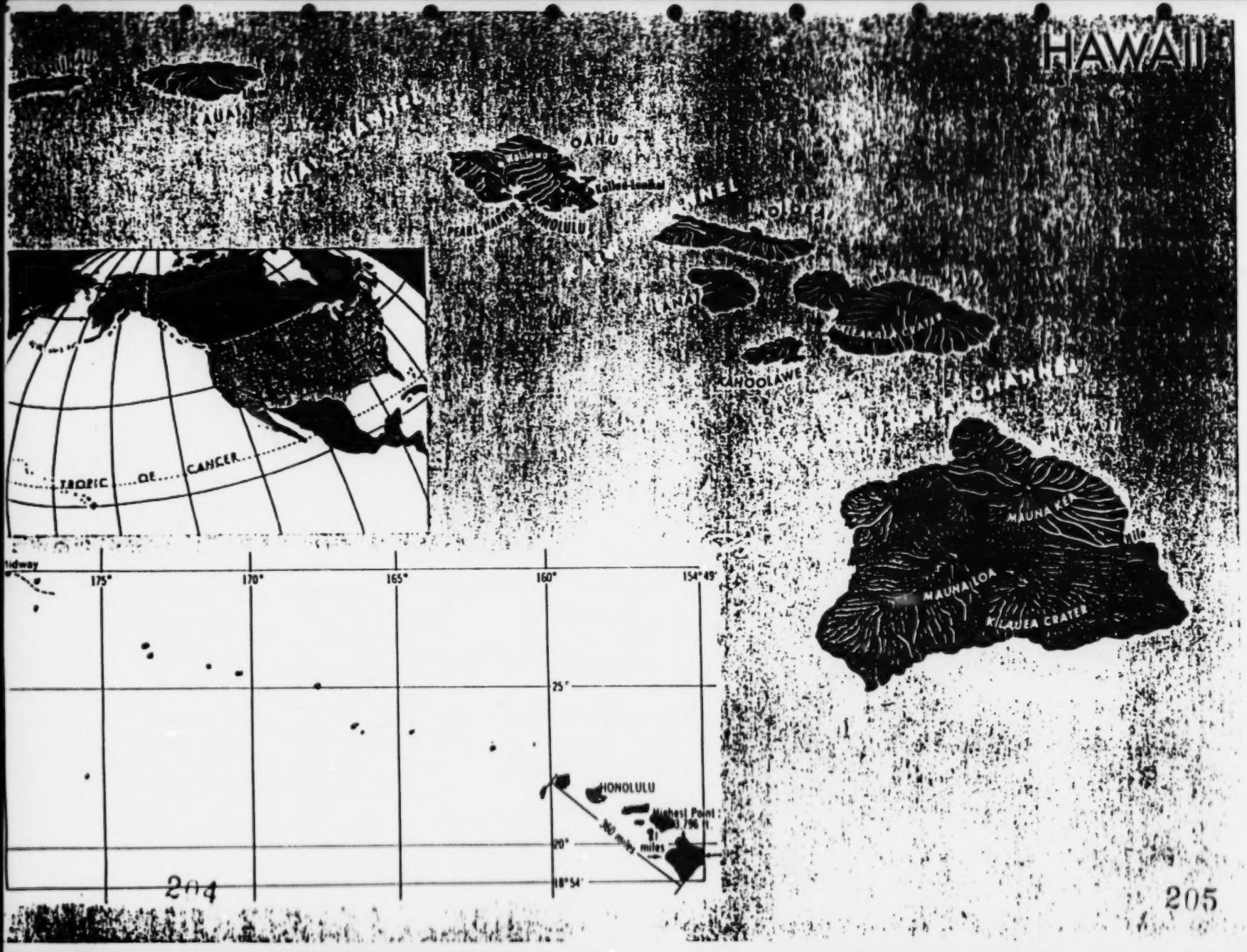
Most of the islands are the tops of volcanic mountains which rise from the ocean floor. All the volcanos are inactive at the moment.

The name of the largest island of all of the Hawaiian islands is Hawaii., just like the state itself. This is the "big island," and it is almost 90 miles at its largest point. It is also known as orchid island because more orchids grow here than anywhere else. The main occupations of the people are production of sugar and coffee, growing of orchids, and cattle raising.

Hawaii is connected to the United States by airlines and by ships. The trip from California takes about 4 1/2 hours in a jet plane and about 4 1/2 days by ocean liner. More than 2.5 million people fly to and from Hawaii every year. Many people go there for their vacation and enjoy the beaches and the beautiful scenery.

Ask child to tell you three things about Hawaii in English. Probe to keep the conversation going: eg. what else do you know about Hawaii" Have you ever been there? What do you know about the people? Have you studied about Hawaii in school? What other countries have you studied about. What you are trying to do here is to engage the child in conversation about school subjects envolving geography. Probe to see what the child can talk about relating to the study of maps, countries, continents, US states, etc.

When the child appears to run out of things to say, probe further in his first language. We want to see how much he was able to learn from our talk about Hawaii even though he may not be able to display this knowledge in English.



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Written Language Assessment

1 Reading (Instructions to be given First Language)

Look at these readings about different famous people. Read one silently and tell me what you read or answer the questions that go with the reading.

2. Writing (Instructions to be given in First Language)

Here we are trying to get at writing process. This may be difficult, so the explanations should be given in first langage.

I want you to see how you are progressing in your English writing. So, I am going to ask you to do three different things in writing.

A. Write about half a page about either your school or your family. After you finish, try to tell me what you were thinking as you wrote. Note: this will allow us to compare this with their first sample.

B. Write about the person that you read about just a minute ago. You can use the reading if you want to. This time, I want you to try to tell me what you are thinking while you are writing. What we are trying to see here is whether the child's writing is different if he has access to a reading source.

The request to be introspective and retrospective may be confusing to the child. You may try to model the behavior by writing something yourself and talking about it as you write. Do the talking in first langage, but write in English.

If this proves too frustrating for the child, don't push it. The writing samples will do.

Pelé was born on October 23, 1940, in a town in the middle of Brazil called "Três Coracões." This name means "Three Hearts." Everybody in the town was poor. There was not enough money to buy a soccer ball. So Pelé's father tied some rags together to make a ball. Pelé and his friends played soccer in the dusty streets. They played barefoot.

When Pelé was 16 years old, he played in his first game on the famous Santos team. Pelé soon became one of the best players on the team. In 1958, Pelé played on Brazil's team at the World Cup Games in Sweden. Brazil had never been the world

champion. At the time of the matches Pelé had an injured knee. It was so swollen that he could hardly bend his leg or jump. He had to miss the first two games, but he played in the rest of the matches. He led Brazil to one victory after another. In the final game Brazil played Sweden for the world championship. Pelé was the star of the game. He scored two goals, and Brazil won the game five to two.

Brazil won the World Cup again in 1962 and 1970. Pelé became very rich. He became a millionaire. He was the most famous athlete in the world. He was so popular that he even temporarily stopped a war. Biafra and Nigeria agreed to stop their war for a day so that Pelé could cross into Biafra from Nigeria to play a soccer game. Finally, Pelé came to the United States. He played for the New York Cosmos team. He helped to make soccer popular in the United States.

Focus Questions

1. When did Pelé first play for the New York Cosmos team?
2. What did some people think about Pelé?
3. What problem did his teammates have?
4. How did Pelé teach his teammates?
5. What did Pelé do in the first half?

Pelé

Pelé played his first game for the New York Cosmos team on June 15, 1975. Fans lined up early in the morning to buy tickets for the afternoon game. When Pelé trotted onto the field, the crowd rose to greet him. Firecrackers were set off. Pelé raised his right arm in a victory salute. Some people thought that Pelé was too old to be any good. But they were wrong. Pelé played the whole game and dazzled the crowd with his perfect passes and beautiful ball handling.

Sometimes, though, his teammates did not understand his tricky passes. So during the game Pelé had to teach his teammates his way of playing. Since he could speak only a little English, he taught them by pointing out how he wanted them to move. In the first half of the game, he helped a teammate score. Then in the second half, Pelé got his chance. A kick came in from the corner near the goal. Pelé leaped high above the other players. His body hung in the air. He caught the ball on his head and flung it into the goal. He was soon surrounded by hundreds of photographers and fans. The crowd had come to see the world's greatest soccer player. Pelé did not disappoint them.

Michael Jackson

Michael Jackson lives with his father and mother and two sisters in a mansion in Encino, California. The house is surrounded by a tall fence and a gate at the driveway. Security guards with dogs keep people from trespassing. Inside the gates are two acres of land complete with gardens, fountains, and a lake for swans. Michael has many kinds of exotic pets. He has a llama called Louis and a pair of baby deer that roam the property. "I'm crazy for birds and puppies, and I love exotic things. I've had llamas, peacocks, a macaw, which is the largest parrot from South America, pheasants, raccoons, and chickens."

One of Michael's most unusual pets is a seven-foot boa constrictor named Muscles. Michael shares his pet snake with his sister Janet. Occasionally, the snake will even sleep on a mattress in Janet's room, its head resting comfortably on a pillow. During an interview, Michael once brought out the snake and teased the reporter. Michael told her that Muscles was trained to eat reporters! Michael loves his animals and his big house. It is a place where he can feel happy and safe. Inside the gates he can escape from the outside world and the pressure of being a superstar.

When Barbra Streisand was a little girl, she was very lonely. She was plain, and other children teased her. "I was a loner, a real ugly kid. And I was skinny. My mother wouldn't let me take dancing lessons. She was afraid my bones would break," Barbra said. Barbra pretended to be the characters she saw in movies or read about in books. She practiced in front of a mirror. She wanted to look just like the characters she had seen or read about. She bought old clothes because she needed costumes for the different characters.

Barbra Streisand

Barbra wanted to be an actress, but her mother discouraged her. She didn't think Barbra was pretty enough. She wanted Barbra to be a secretary. But Barbra grew her nails very long so that she couldn't learn how to type. In 1961 Barbra entered a talent contest. She sang a song and won first prize. She sang in a nightclub and was a big hit.

Barbra got the chance to appear in a play on Broadway. The play was "Funny Girl." It was the story of a funny Jewish girl named Fanny Brice. Fanny Brice was a star on Broadway and on the radio. The play ran for two years. Barbra was in eight performances every week. She was a big star. Women tried to look like Barbra. They grew their nails long. They wore lots of eye make-up. They cut their hair in a "Streisand page-boy" style.

Focus Questions

1. What did people advise Barbra to do?
2. Why didn't Barbra change her last name?
3. Why wasn't she satisfied when she became a successful singer?
4. What did she find painful?
5. What does Barbra prefer to being in plays?

Barbra Streisand

Barbra Streisand has never been a conformist. People advised her to change her large, irregular nose, but she refused. They advised her to change her last name to something that would look better on a theater marquee. Again she refused. "I wanted all the people I knew when I was younger to know it was me when I became a star," Barbra said. When she became a successful singer, she was not satisfied. She wanted to be a star on Broadway. "I'm not a singer. I'm an actress who sings," she said.

When she got the role of Fanny Brice in "Funny Girl," Barbra surprised people once again. She decided not to copy the style or mannerisms of Fanny Brice. She would portray a fictional rather than a real person. "I've never heard her or seen her," Barbra said. "When the show closes, that's when I'll listen to all her old records and radio tapes and see any movies she was in. In the show I don't try to do an imitation of Fanny Brice. That would be like a nightclub act." Once she became a Broadway star, Barbra found the eight performances a week "painful." She now prefers movies. "I love being in the movies. I'm performing all over the world -- while I'm sitting home taking a bath."

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During the German occupation of Arnhem, Holland, during World War II, Audrey Hepburn's mother secretly joined the Dutch Resistance forces. To help eke out a living, Audrey taught dancing and piano to younger girls at the Arnhem Conservatory of Music and Dance. She also worked day and night against the Nazi leaders. She acted as a secret courier and was sent on special missions. When British troops landed in the nearby forests, Audrey would carry messages to them. The forests were constantly patrolled by the Germans, so Audrey and the British soldiers were in danger of discovery. Audrey, in fact, risked her life every day. In addition, the food shortage caused Audrey to become severely malnourished and very thin.

At last came the long-awaited British attempt to free Arnhem. The Germans began evacuating the city. Audrey and her mother had to leave behind almost everything they owned. They found temporary refuge in a country house. Audrey and her brother went into the fields to find endives, grass, and even tulips to eat. Audrey developed a painful edema, which swelled her ankles and knees. Later she developed hepatitis. Audrey had a hard time recovering from the war. The edema and hepatitis left a severe thinness and lack of muscular strength. In order to build up Audrey's frail body and her morale, her mother somehow managed to scrape up enough money to send her to the most gifted dancing teacher in Holland. Soon she was working as a chorus girl in London. Then, in 1951, Audrey set sail for New York and her first Broadway role -- "Gigi."

Julio Iglesias has sold more records than any other singer in history, including over 100 million LP albums. He earns more than $15 million a year. He has a $3 million mansion on an island off Miami Beach and another residence in Bel Air, California. He owns property in Tahiti, Majorca, and Madrid, and he has a yacht, a passenger plane, and a fleet of luxury cars.

Yet, in his younger days, there was no indication that he would become a world-famous singer. Julio was born in Madrid on September 23, 1943. His father was a prominent gynecologist. Julio's grades in school were poor, and he did not qualify for the school choir. He was, however, an excellent soccer player. After finishing secondary school, he began to study law and continued to play soccer. But in 1963 he suffered a serious injury to his

vertebrae in an automobile accident. He had to go through two years of painful therapy, and he still walks with a slight limp. While he was recovering, a nurse gave him an inexpensive guitar. He listened to singers on the radio and tried to accompany them on his guitar. Julio discovered that he had musical talent of which he had been unaware.

He began to write songs and perform as a singer. One of his songs, "Guendoline," became a top hit in Europe. Julio appeared in Latin America and became a big star there. Soon his records were selling in the Arab countries and Japan as well as Europe and Latin America. He made a 33-city tour of the United States and signed a contract with CBS records. Julio is a perfectionist, and he will sometimes make up to 40 takes of a single song until he is sure the recording is perfect. During one five-year period, he spent eight to nine months a year in his recording studio -- working from evening until the small hours of the morning. All the work has paid off. Every 30 seconds one of his songs is being played in some corner of the world.

Focus Questions

1. What was Julio Iglesias' condition after his accident?
2. What did his father build to help Julio?
3. Why didn't Julio use the wheelchair?
4. What does Julio believe has made him a superstar?
5. What does he think makes him better than other singers?
6. What do Julio's children think of his music?

Julio Iglesias

When Julio Iglesias was 20 years old, his car was forced off the road by an out-of-control truck. The accident nearly killed him and left him paralyzed from the chest down for a year. After 14 hours of surgery, Julio was convinced he was going to die. But his father took time out from his career for a year to dedicate his life to Julio. He built a hospital room in their home complete with physical therapy equipment. His father also bought him a wheelchair, but Julio refused to use it. "I knew that if I used that wheelchair once, I would always use it," he says. Instead he worked out for hours every day and even crawled to his exercise machines in the middle of the night while his family slept.

The experience toughened Julio. "I have looked death in the face, and I have survived. Put me in the middle of the ocean, and I will swim until I somehow reach the shore. Never will I go under unless a shark kills me. I will survive anything," he says. Julio believes that it is his tenacity and disciplined work habits -- more than innate talent -- that have made him a superstar. "I don't sing better than the others. I'm not great-looking. I have to do my hair, and I look tired if I don't get enough rest. What makes me better than the others is endless hard work," he says. Surprisingly, Julio's three children do not like his music. "My daughter doesn't even have any of my records. She likes Michael Jackson and Prince."

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UNIT TWO

Michael Jackson was born on August 29, 1958, in Gary, Indiana. When he was only five years old, Michael and his brothers formed the singing group known as the Jackson Five. Michael was so energetic and talented that he was chosen to be the lead singer. Their first paid performance was in a Gary nightclub called Mr. Lucky. Though they were paid only eight dollars a night, people in the audience would throw money to them as they performed. "When we sang, people would throw all this money on the floor, tons of dollars, tens, twenties, lots of change. I remember my pockets being so full of money that I couldn't keep

my pants up. I'd wear a real tight belt, and I'd buy candy like crazy," Michael recalls. Some nights they picked up nearly 300 dollars.

When Michael became older and more famous, he dated movie star Tatum O'Neal several times. He later developed close friendships with stars Stephanie Mills and Liza Minnelli. During Michael's performances, his fans sometimes get very excited. They pull his hair. He doesn't like it. It hurts. But he is happy that his fans like him so much. He is also very glad that they enjoy his music.

Michael is very religious and sells religious magazines to people in their homes. He doesn't like to eat very much, but he often drinks fruit juice. He doesn't smoke marijuana or use other drugs. "I've never used them, and I'm not interested in using them," Michael says. "If I want to be happy, I'll go to the beach or read a beautiful book or write a song."

Focus Questions

1. Where does Michael Jackson live?
2. How is his house protected?
3. What's the name of Michael's llama?
4. What is his most unusual pet?
5. How did Michael tease a reporter?

English Language Assessment--Level 3

This is the language assessment to be given in the Fall, 1992. Interview should begin by setting child at ease in his first language if needed. **If the child is comfortable in English, proceed with the assessment using only English**

.After this is accomplished, explain that you want to see how much English he/she has learned during the school year Say that you are sure that he knows a lot more English than he/she thinks. **Record the interview in its entirety.**

As far as possible, interview should resemble a conversation using foreigner talk as needed. You will be using far more English here than you did on the first and second assessments. Essentially, use English for instructions and the like and watch to see if student is comprehending. If he is not, simplyfy language or repeat. The point is to see how much the student has progressed in his development of English in both receptive and productive skills.

Stop each task when you feel that you have a good sense of how much growth the student has experienced in each of the areas we covered in our other assessments. You will notice that we will be repeating some of the tasks done last time, but we will also be adding more "academic" proficiency tasks as well.

It is expected that you may need an hour for the oral language assessment and another half hour for the writing assessment. You may want to carry out the assessment on two separate days.

Oral Language Skills

1. (To be asked in English only)

   Tell me where you hear English in the course of your everyday life.

2. Contact with English (To be asked in English only)

   Tell me who in your family or which close friends speak English.

3. Cataloguing of English Knowledge (To be asked in English only)

   -Tell me some things that you can say in English. Either words or phrases or whatever you can think of.

4. Perceptions about English Knowledge (To be asked in English only)

   Tell me some things you can do with English.

   Tell me some places that you go to where you have to use English.

5. Personal Indentification. (To be asked in English only) Conduct this as closely as possible like a real conversation. Encourage the child to elaborate if he appears to have the ability.

Let's pretend that I don't know you at all. Let me ask you some questions in English about yourself.

What is your name?
Where do you live?
What is your telephone number?
Where were you born?
What is your age? / How old are you?
What is your nationality?
What school do you go to?
What grade are you in?

What else can you tell me about yourself.

6. Life at Home (To be asked in English only)

Conduct this as closely as possible like a real conversation. Encourage the child to elaborate if he appears to have the ability.

Tell me about your family.
What is your father's name? your mother's name?
How many brothers and sisters do you have?
What are their names?
How old are they?
Do they go to school?
Where do your parents work?

Tell me about what you do every day.
What time do you get up?
What do you do after that? (repeat as needed)
What time do you have breakfast, lunch, dinner?
What time do you go to school?
What do you do in the evening?

What do you do on weekends?

7. Education and future career.

Tell me about your school?
Where is your school?
What time does school start?
What classes do you have?
What is your favorite class?
What do you like best about school?
What would you like to work at when you finish school?

8. Ability to understand connected discourse after advanced organizer is given. (Instructions to be given in First Language)

Note: use only if the child has had trouble understanding all the way along and there has been little progress in English language skills. If the child has been understanding your English instructions in the tasks above, omit this step.

I am going to tell you about a girl who just arrived in the US. Listen carefully and tell me everything that you remember about her.

I am going to tell you about my car. Listen carefully and tell me five things about my car.

9. Academic language proficiency- Ability to understand explanations/follow directions. Explain in **English** that you are going to give child directions and that he should follow them. You will have all the appropriate props with you and laid out on the table.
In all cases, do not slow down your speech. Talk exactly as you might to a class you yourself might be teaching.

A. Task 1: Heat
Show child the sheet on heat. Walk him through the explanation and the pictures. Point to things and read aloud the captions and add details.

I am going to tell you about heat and we are going to look at this explanation sheet together. Listen as I explain heat to you. If you have any questions stop me.

First of all, what do you know about heat. (Elicit what child already knows).

Okay, now let's see what this tells us about heat. (Read the first segement of text. Check to see if child understood. Continue, tell about the thermometer, point to it. Pause to see if there are questions. Go on to molecules. Point to illustrations of the molecules above each picture. When you are finished ask if there are any questions.

Proceed to the questions in the rectangles. Ask child yes/no questions first. Probe, if you think the child knows the answer. For example, if child does not respond to question to in the yes/no questions, you might ask" What are molecules. What is matter made up of? Let child look at the text as needed.

Proceed to multiple choice questions. Move fairly rapidly. Do not get bogged down. If child appears not to know, tell him the answer and move on.

B. Task II. Listening to a presentation about an American Indian.

Tell child. Now you are going to hear about a very important American Indian. What I want you to do is to listen carefully and to take notes if you need to. I want you to remember 3 things about this important American Indian.

Proceed to read from text Listening text for Massasoit. Make this as much like a natural presentation as you can. Do not use wooden reading expression. Maintain eye contact with child, use intonation and pauses to make text more comprehensible.

When the child is finished., ask: What do you remember about Massasoit? Anything else?

Written Language Assessment

1. Writing (Instructions to be given in English)

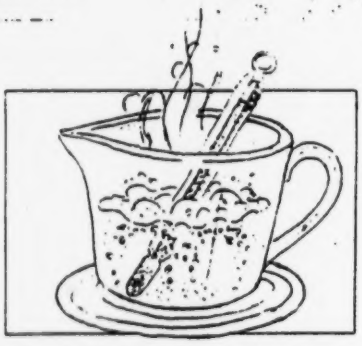
I want you to see how you are progressing in your English writing. So, I am going to ask you to do two different things in writing.

A. Write about half a page about either your school or your family.

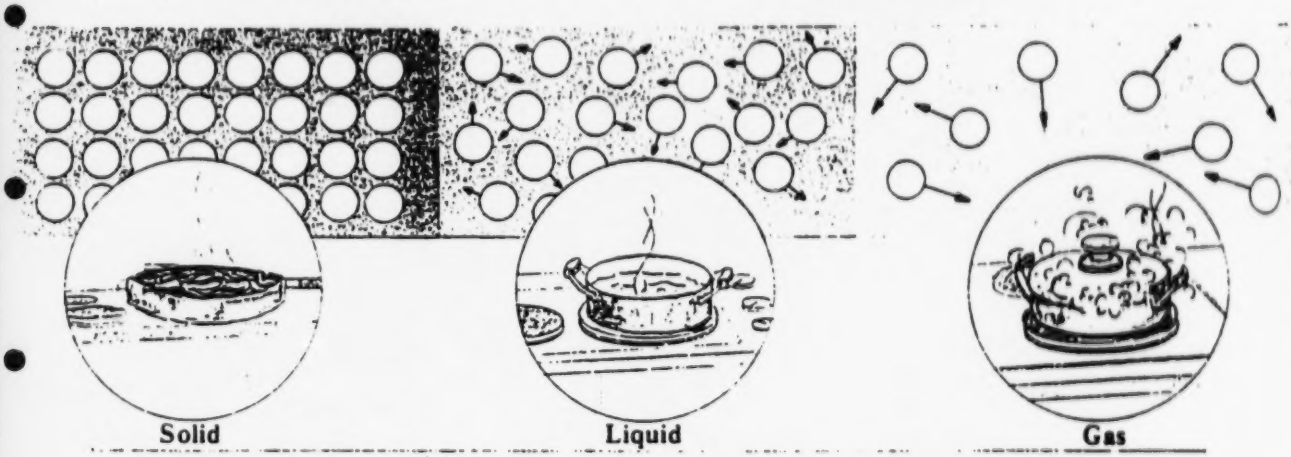
B. Write about the person that you read about just a minute ago. You can use the reading if you want to.

Heat is a form of energy. Heat keeps us warm. Heat can also make things move. Heat is the energy transferred from one object to another object of a different temperature.

The thermometer loses heat to the ice water.



The thermometer gains heat from the boiling water.



Matter is made up of molecules. In solids, molecules are kept in place. In liquids, molecules move more freely. In gases, molecules move in all directions. Metals are the best heat conductors because their molecules are close together.

Y N Answer Yes or No.

1. Does heat keep us cold?
2. Is matter made up of molecules?
3. Do molecules move around in solids?
4. Does a thermometer gain heat from boiling water?
5. Is an electric current the movement of molecules?

? Multiple choice.

1. Heat is a form of (energy/electricity).
2. (Electricity/Matter) is made up of molecules.
3. In (gases/solids), molecules fly in all directions.
4. An electric current is the movement of (electrons/heat) along a wire.
5. Electrons have a (positive/negative) charge.

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Listening Text for Massasoit

Today you are going to hear about an important American Indian. His name was Massasoit. He believed in peace, and he was friendly to the Pilgrims who settled in Plymouth.

First you will hear who Massasoit was and what he did. Massasoit was the chief of the Wampanoag tribe. He ruled the area that is today Cape Cod part of Rhode Island. When the English Pilgrims arrived in America in 1620, Massasoit did not fight them. Instead, he signed a peace treaty with the new colonists in 1621.

Now you will hear how about the first Thanksgiving. The Pilgrims were very glad that the Indians were friendly and helpful. For instance, when they were hungry, Massasoit sold food to them. When the Pilgrims celebrated their Thanksgiving, they invited Massasoit and members of his tribe to the feast. The Indians came, and brought food for the feast also. This was probably the first time that Europeans and American Indians learned that they could be friends.

Next you will hear how the Pilgrims and Massasoit helped each other. One example was when Massasoit was very sick, and one of the Pilgrims cured him. Another example was when other Indians planned to attack the Pilgrims and Massasoit warned them.

Finally, let's see what happened after Massasoit died. Although Massasoit believed in peace, there was war after he died. His son Metacomet, who was called "King Philip" by the English, decided to attack the English because he did not want them to take any more Indian lands. The war lasted for two years, and many Indians and English colonists were killed. Massasoit's ideas about peace were forgotten.

In conclusion, Massasoit was important in American history. He signed a peace treaty with the Pilgrims and was a good friend to them for the rest of his life. He was a man who believed that peace was more important than war.

English Language Assessment-IV -Low

This is the language assessment to be given in the Spring, 199s. Interview should begin by setting child at ease in his first language if needed. **If the child is comfortable in English, proceed with the assessment using only English**

.After this is accomplished, explain that you want to see how much English he/she has learned during the school year Say that you are sure that he knows a lot more English than he/she thinks. **Record the interview in its entirety.**

As far as possible, interview should resemble a conversation using foreigner talk as needed. You will be using far more English here than you did on the first and second assessments. Essentially, use English for instructions and the like and watch to see if student is comprehending. If he is not, simplyfy language or repeat. The point is to see how much the student has progressed in his development of English in both receptive and productive skills.

Stop each task when you feel that you have a good sense of how much growth the student has experienced in each of the areas we covered in our other assessments. You will notice that we will be repeating some of the tasks done last time, but we will also be adding more "academic" proficiency tasks as well.

It is expected that you may need an hour for the oral language assessment and another half hour for the writing assessment. You may want to carry out the assessment on two separate days.

Oral Language Skills

1. (To be asked in English only)

   Tell me where you hear English in the course of your everyday life.

2. Contact with English (To be asked in English only)

   Tell me who in your family or which close friends speak English.

3. Cataloguing of English Knowledge (To be asked in English only)

   -Tell me some things that you can say in English. Either words or phrases or whatever you can think of.

4. Perceptions about English Knowledge (To be asked in English only)

   Tell me some things you can do with English.

   Tell me some places that you go to where you have to use English.

5. Personal Indentification. (To be asked in English only) Conduct this as closely as possible like a real conversation. Encourage the child to elaborate if he appears to have the ability.

Let's pretend that I don't know you at all. Let me ask you some questions in English about yourself.

What is your name?
Where do you live?
What is your telephone number?
Where were you born?
What is your age? / How old are you?
What is your nationality?
What school do you go to?
What grade are you in?

What else can you tell me about yourself.

6. Life at Home (To be asked in English only)

Conduct this as closely as possible like a real conversation. Encourage the child to elaborate if he appears to have the ability.

Tell me about your family.
What is your father's name? your mother's name?
How many brothers and sisters do you have?
What are their names?
How old are they?
Do they go to school?
Where do your parents work?

Tell me about what you do every day.
What time do you get up?
What do you do after that? (repeat as needed)
What time do you have breakfast, lunch, dinner?
What time do you go to school?
What do you do in the evening?

What do you do on weekends?

7. Education and future career.

Tell me about your school?
Where is your school?
What time does school start?
What classes do you have?
What is your favorite class?
What do you like best about school?
What would you like to work at when you finish school?

8. Ability to understand connected discourse after advanced organizer is given. in First Language

Note: use only if the child has had trouble understanding all the way along and there has been little progress in English language skills. If the child has been understanding your English instructions in the tasks above, omit this step.

I am going to tell you about a girl who just arrived in the US. Listen carefully and tell me everything that you remember about her. NOTE YOU CAN USE CHILD'S FIRST LANGUAGE TO GIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

Martha Garrido is 13 years old. She just arrived from Mexico. She is from a small town in the state of Coahuila. Her father has been in California for three years. He works for a construction company. He speaks a little bit of English and understands a lot.

Martha's mother 's name is Estela. She works for a car washing company. She does not speak English yet.

Martha has a brother and a sister. Her brother is seventeen. He goes to Washington High School. Martha's sister is eight years old. She goes to Rio Elementary School.

Martha likes her school and her friends. Her best friend's name is Rosaura.

I am going to tell you about Jorge and his car. Listen carefully and tell me five things you remember about Jorge and his car.

Jorge has a new car. It is a red and white Toyota. Jorge paid over $1000 for his car. He worked every summer and he saved his money.

The car is a 1975 model. It has a new radio and it runs very well. Jorge likes his car very much. He washes the car every Sunday morning and then he takes his girlfriend Rebecca to church. He drives very carefully because he does not want to have an accident.

9. Academic language proficiency- Ability to display knowledge of common vocabulary categories.

A. Tell me the colors in English.

B. Count by tens to 100.

C. Write down the numbers that I dictate to you. Write only figures, not words

15, 26, 78, 92, 31, 180, 457, 88, 640

D. Tell me the months of the year.

E. Tell me the days of the week.

F. Name five things that you see in the classroom.

G. Name five things that you see in your home.

10. Reading and making sense of written text.
Using the Chamot material, choose two lessons and have child conjecture about content and then attempt to read. Tap background knowledge. Ask appropriate questions if child's explanation do not make it obvious that he/she understands.

Written Language Assessment

1. Writing (Instructions to be given in English)

I want you to see how you are progressing in your English writing. So, I am going to ask you to do two different things in writing.

A. Write about half a page about either your school or your family.

B. Write about the person that you read about just a minute ago. You can use the reading if you want to.